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L JOHNSON ON ADAM BELLOW

Jonah Goldberg: Jerry Springer 'n' Me

NATIONAL REVIEW

MEXIFORNIA

VICTOR DAVIS HANSON ON THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE GOLDEN STATE

PLUS: ***Anthony Daniels*** describes the African Way

Jim Geraghty examines Howard Dean as governor

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Kurt M. Landgraf,
President & CEO of
Educational Testing Service

"...we must lower the ladder of access to higher education and raise the level of financial assistance..."

ETS
Educational Testing Service

Rosedale Road, MS 50-B
Princeton, NJ 08541

Higher Education
An American Value

The recent U.S. Supreme Court decisions regarding affirmative action reconfirmed the principle that access to higher education is a fundamental American value. The critical role played by higher education in America was underscored, as well, in a new study commissioned by ETS.

The study found that for Americans, the primary concerns about higher education center on access and affordability. The public believes that we must lower the ladder of access to higher education and raise the level of financial assistance so that young people, from all backgrounds, have the chance to go to college.

These findings are among the many revealed in *Quality, Affordability, and Access: Americans Speak on Higher Education*, a recent public opinion poll conducted by pollsters Peter Hart and Robert Teeter. This third annual poll commissioned by ETS reveals Americans' attitudes about education and reform, both in K-12 and higher education. Researchers surveyed adults in general, administrators and professors, students, and business leaders.

Higher education remains the jewel in the crown of American education, according to those we polled. But our survey shows that most Americans believe many young people are missing their chance to attend college because of high tuition costs.

Other important findings from the May survey:

Education remains a national priority — During these times of uncertainty, education remains at the top of the American agenda. While higher education receives high praise and is placed on the public's honor roll, the K-12 system receives no better than a C average. The public wants an education system that works, and is willing to fund reforms that will lead to changes.

There is an information gap about education reform — Only 3 in 8 Americans are aware that a national K-12 education reform bill was signed into law, and only 1 in 8 believes that the legislation has led to real change in schools. There is a continuing need to communicate the full story about standards-based reform and the changes taking place in schools, districts and states across the U.S.

The bar should be raised — While Americans are pleased with the academic rigor of higher education, the public expects more from the nation's K-12 education system. Pushing students through the system is not enough; students must graduate equipped with the skills and knowledge needed for higher education and/or the workforce.

ETS, with its rich heritage of higher education assessment, is now becoming a major player in the K-12 arena and a dependable education resource to parents, politicians and policymakers. Our goal is clear and firm: Improve the way teachers teach and students learn. We will do so by *listening* to the American public, by *learning* from what we hear and what we discover through our research, and, with the help of those who care deeply about education, by *leading* the way.

We invite you to continue this dialogue by sharing your thoughts and questions at www.ets.org/testing or by mail.

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AUGUST 11, 2003 VOL. LV, NO. 15

NATIONAL REVIEW

www.nationalreview.com

■ COVER STORY

California, Here They Come (and Come)

Sometime in the last 30 years, we in California gave up on confronting the flood of illegal immigration from Mexico. Now we just shrug at perhaps 10 million illegal immigrants, and remain vaguely aware that one of the world's richest economies is adjacent to one of the poorest—and that chaos sooner or later will result.

By Victor Davis Hanson

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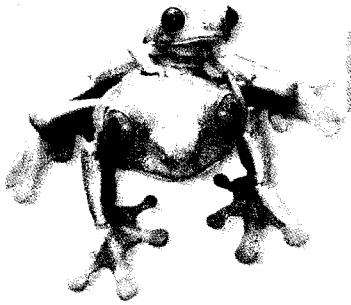


Panama Canal Cruise

Sailing November 8–18 aboard Holland America's MS *Rotterdam* with

RICHARD ALLEN, RALPH REED, NORMAN PODHORETZ, MIDGE DECTER, STEPHEN MOORE, BRENT BOZELL, JONAH GOLDBERG, KATE O'BEIRNE, RICH LOWRY, BYRON YORK, JAY NORDLINGER, RAMESH PONNURU, and REV. ROBERT SIRICO!

Here's your special opportunity to take part in one of the most exciting seafaring adventures you will ever experience: the ***National Review* 2003 Panama Canal Cruise**. Featuring an incredible cast of conservative speakers—and *affordable* accommodations—this trip will take place November 8–18, 2003, aboard Holland America Line's stunning flagship, the MS *Rotterdam*.

This is a *unique* opportunity to meet preeminent conservatives: "Definites" for this voyage are former Reagan National Security Advisor **Richard Allen**; renowned social commentators **Norman Podhoretz** and **Midge Decter**; Republican strategist supreme **Ralph Reed**; Media Research Center chief **Brent Bozell**, the scourge of the Fourth Estate; and the tax-cutting champion founder of the Club for Growth, *NR* Contributing Editor **Stephen Moore**, and Rev. **Robert Sirico,** the influential founder and president of the free-market Acton Institute for the Study of Religion and Liberty.

The *NR* "gang"—Editor **Rich Lowry**, Washington Editor **Kate O'Beirne**, Senior Editor **Ramesh Ponnuru**, Managing Editor **Jay Nordlinger**, White House Correspondent **Byron York**, and National Review Online Editor-at-Large **Jonah Goldberg**—will be along for the ten luxurious days of political shop-talk, conservative revelry, and world-class cruising.

Some 300-plus *NR* readers—make certain you're one of them!—are expected to take this wonderful trip, which will sojourn through the sun-drenched Southern Caribbean, where the *Rotterdam* will be visiting the lovely tropical ports of Aruba and Curacao (and Holland America's beautiful private island, Half Moon Cay), and after stopping at the *muy* historic port of Cartagena, Columbia (a new addition to our itinerary!), head on to the Isthmus's famed modern marvel (we'll pass through the Canal with inches to spare—it's a fascinating experience!), all of which will be followed by a lengthy visit to stunning Costa Rica. It is sure to be a great trip, *and* one of the most affordable *NR* voyages ever. Prices start at an *incredibly* low $2,199 per person (which includes those costly "standard" charges)!

For those of you who've *wanted* to go on an *NR* cruise, but *haven't* yet, consider this: Over half of our group are *NR* cruise "alumni." (Indeed, the typical *NR* cruiser has been on an average of three trips!) They keep "coming back" for a simple reason: *NR* cruises are great. It's time you discovered this wonderful fact for yourself.

An *NR* cruise is your unique chance to meet and intimately discuss politics and policy with some of the giants of conservative affairs. Our exciting seminars—we've scheduled seven panel sessions (they're two hours each)—allow for ample audience "Q & A," and provide a scintillating take on current events.

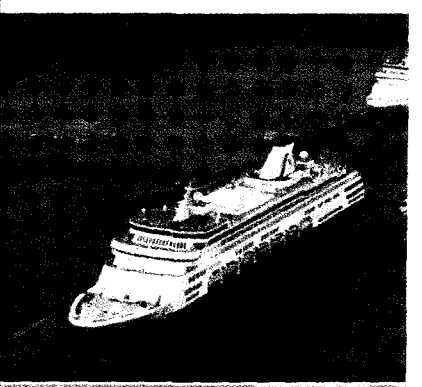
And then there are *NR*'s exclusive "extras." In addition to the seminars, we have *three* cocktail receptions planned (super affairs featuring great food and libations), *two* late-night poolside "smokers" (with world-class **H. Upmann** cigars—*and* complimentary cognac!), *plus* intimate dining with speakers and editors.

TEN FANTASTIC DAYS! HISTORIC CARTAGENA VISIT JUST ADDED!

DAY/DATE	PORT	ARRIVE	DEPART	SPECIAL EVENT
Sat./Nov. 8	Ft. Lauderdale, FL		5:00PM	
Sun./Nov. 9	Half Moon Cay (Bahamas)	8:00AM	4:00PM	evening cocktail reception
Mon./Nov. 10	AT SEA			morning/afternoon seminars late-night poolside smoker
Tues./Nov. 11	Willemstad, Curacao	Noon	10:00PM	morning seminar
Wed./Nov. 12	Oranjestad, Aruba	7:00AM	6:00PM	
Thur./Nov. 13	Cartagena, Columbia	Noon	6:00PM	morning seminar evening cocktail reception
Fri./Nov. 14	Panama Canal Gatun Lake	9:00AM	4:00PM	
Sat./Nov. 15	Puerto Limon, Costa Rica	6:00AM	6:00PM	late-night poolside smoker
Sun./Nov. 16	AT SEA			morning/afternoon seminars
Mon./Nov. 17	AT SEA			morning seminar evening cocktail reception
Tues./Nov. 18	Ft. Lauderdale, FL	8:00AM		

All *that* will occur on a *great* ship: The *Rotterdam* is one of the more beloved vessels of Holland America Line (which readers of *Travel & Leisure* last year voted the world's Highest-Rated Premium Cruise Line!).

You'll find the *Rotterdam*'s accommodations (elegant staterooms and glamorous public spaces) to be truly luxurious, and matched by the indulgent, courteous staff, superior cuisine, and top-notch entertainment and excursions.



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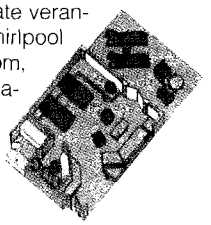
BOOK TODAY! LUXURY STATEROOMS START AT ONLY $2,199 P/P!

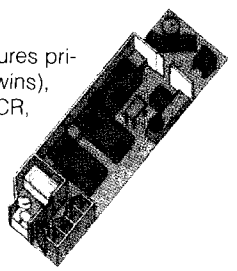
Travel experts agree: Holland America Line offers high-valued premium cruising. Superior service, gourmet cuisine, elegant accommodations, and great entertainment await you on the beautiful *Rotterdam*. Prices are per-person, based on double occupancy, and include port fees, taxes, gratuities, transfers (for those booking airfare through HAL), all meals, entertainment, and admittance to and participation in all *National Review* functions. Rates for third/fourth person in cabin: $1,248 p/p for ages 2 and older, $840 p/p for children younger than 2.

SUITE Luxury quarters (563 sq. ft.) features private verandah, king-size bed (convertible to 2 twin beds), whirlpool bath/shower, floor-to-ceiling windows, dressing room, large sitting area, sofa bed, VCR, mini-bar, refrigerator, concierge service, complimentary personalized stationery, hors d'oeuvres, dry cleaning, and more, plus special disembarkation privileges.



Category S
DOUBLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 4,999 P/P
SINGLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 6,999

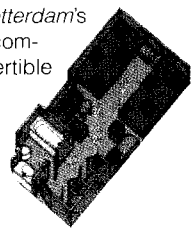
MINI SUITE Large stateroom (284 sq. ft.) features private verandah, king-size bed (convertible to 2 twins), sofa bed, whirlpool bath/shower, sitting area, VCR, mini-bar, refrigerator, floor-to-ceiling windows.



Categories A and B
"A" DOUBLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 3,599 P/P
"A" SINGLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 4,999

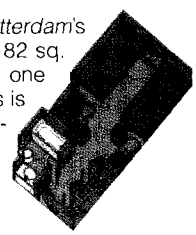
"B" DOUBLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 3,499 P/P
"B" SINGLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 4,899

LARGE OUTSIDE STATEROOM The *Rotterdam*'s large "Outside Staterooms" (197 sq. ft.) are comfortable and feature a queen-size bed (convertible to 2 twin beds), a large picture window, plus bath/shower combination.



Category D
DOUBLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 2,699 P/P
SINGLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 3,499

LARGE INSIDE STATEROOM The *Rotterdam*'s very accommodating "Inside Staterooms," (182 sq. ft.) offer 2 twin beds that are convertible to one queen-size bed, plus a bath with shower. This is a very affordable category designed to provide you with maximum comfort.



Category K
DOUBLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 2,199 P/P
SINGLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 2,999

You'll want to join us for the exciting political discussions, the luxurious cruise experience, and the rest and relaxation you so richly deserve. *And* for the great destinations and balmy itinerary:

HALF MOON CAY: A delightful spot with white beaches and a sparkling blue lagoon. Go on: Relax on a hammock while you sip a delightful concoction—*after* a sumptuous barbeque feast!

CURACAO: Willemstad is warm and inviting, a Dutch enclave known for its rows of charming pastel-colored houses and its famed Floating Market. Scuba and snorkeling enthusiasts will revel in the renowned Underwater Marine Park.

ARUBA: The *Rotterdam* will spend a pleasant day in Oranjestad—explore Nassaustraat, brimming with quaint shops. Water sports abound: snorkeling, rides on glass bottom boats and submarines. Or venture into the countryside to see the haunts of the huge green parakeet, the unique rock gardens of Casi Bari, the curious divi divi tree, forever bending in the tradewind breezes.

CARTAGENA: The New World's oldest city—a new addition to our itinerary!—awaits in all its historic and vibrant splendor. Visit the Old Walled City, or the San Felipe fotress which once guarded the famed Spanish Main's gold and silver shipments, or Bocagrande, where the emeralds still gleam. Excursions abound!

GATUN LAKE: After traveling through the Eighth Wonder of the World, the *Rotterdam* will stop at this huge, man-made lake. Numerous excursions (a visit to Panama City, or a tour of the real "inner workings" of the Canal system) await you.

COSTA RICA: A full twelve-hour stop at Puerto Limon affords you the special opportunity to tour rainforests, tropical flower farms, or even to ride a Mawamba boat through the jungle canals. The more adventurous can white-water raft down spectacular rivers, or stroll through the markets bursting with color in San Jose.

Hundred of *NR* readers have already signed up to enjoy ten of the most fun-filled days any conservative could ever experience. Join them: Just fill out the application form on the following page, and return it ASAP by mail or fax. Cabins are available on a first come, first served basi, but there's one to fit everyone's taste and budget (FYI: "Suites" are limited). You'll also find pricing on Holland America's affordable "Fly Cruise" airfare program.

Take part in a truly special conservative event. Join us this November on the *Rotterdam*, in the company of **Richard Allen, Norman Podhoretz, Midge Decter, Ralph Reed, Brent Bozell, Stephen Moore,** Rev. **Robert Sirico, Rich Lowry, Kate O'Beirne, Ramesh Ponnuru, Jay Nordlinger, Byron York,** and **Jonah Goldberg,** on the ***National Review* 2003 Panama Canal Cruise.**

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The National Review 2003 Panama Canal Cruise Application

Mail to: National Review Cruise, The Cruise Authority, 1307 Powers Ferry Rd., Marietta, GA 30067-5409 or Fax to 770-916-1425

Please fill out application completely and mail with deposit check or fax with credit-card information. One application per cabin. If you want more than one cabin, make copies of this application. For questions call The Cruise Authority at 800-707-1634.

Personal

Name #1 (full legal name) + Nickname _____ Shirt size (M/L/XL) _____

Name #2 (full legal name) + Nickname _____ Shirt size (M/L/XL) _____

Names #3 & #4 (if taking others in your cabin) _____

Street Mailing Address _____

( )

City _____ State _____ ZIP _____

Daytime Phone _____

Special Information (medical conditions, celebrating anniversary, etc.) _____

Payment

A deposit of $1,200 per cabin is due with this application. If paid by credit card, balance will be charged to *same* card on 8/8/03 unless otherwise directed. If application is received after 8/8/03, the *full amount of cruise* will be charged. Cabins and categories are available on a first come, first served basis. *Suites are limited!*

☐ My deposit of $1,200 per stateroom is included.
(Make checks payable to "National Review Cruise")

☐ Charge to: AmEx ☐ Visa ☐ MasterCard ☐ Discover

☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐

Expiration Date (Month) ☐☐ (Year) ☐☐

_____
Authorized Signature of Cardholder/Guest

Information and price quote on Cancellation Fee Waiver/Medical Insurance will accompany your statement. Cancellation Penalty Schedule follows (cancellations must be received in writing by the date indicated):

PRIOR *to June 9, 2003*	*$75 per person*	
June 9, 2003 to Augus 8, 2003	*$600 per person*	
AFTER *August 8, 2003*	*100% of cruise/package*	04/08/NR

Cruise

(All rates are per person, double occupancy, and include all port charges and taxes, all gratuities, meals, entertainment, and *National Review* activities. Cruise-only rates include all of above except airfare and transfers. Failure to appear for embarkation for any reason constitutes a cancellation subject to full penalties. Personal items not included.)

PLEASE CHECK ALL APPLICABLE BOXES!

I. CABIN CATEGORY *(see list and prices on previous page)*

First cabin category choice:_____ Second cabin category choice:_____

Bedding: Beds made up as ☐ Twin ☐ King/Queen

BOOKING SINGLE? ☐ Please try to match me with a roommate. (My age: ___)

II. AIR/TRANSFER PACKAGES

☐ We will provide our own roundtrip air and transfers to and from Ft. Lauderdale.

☐ Include air with our package from _____ (see list below).

☐ We need to purchase transfers from the airport to the ship at $24 per person.

III. GENERAL INFORMATION

CITIZENSHIP: Is everyone a U.S. citizen? ☐ Yes ☐ No

If No, indicate citizenship: _____

DINING: I wish to dine with _____

DINNER: ☐ 8:15PM ☐ 6:15PM (conflicts with dining with speakers/events)

IV. PRE- AND POST-CRUISE TOUR PACKAGES

☐ *Please send me information on pre-/post-cruise packages in South Florida.*

Important!

Everyone cruising will be required to bring either a valid passport OR a certified birth certificate (with raised seal!), plus photo ID. Failure to do so may result in being denied boarding of the *Rotterdam*. Children do not require photo ID.

Responsibility: Notice is hereby given that the cruise advertised herein, including all tickets, vouchers and coupons issued and all arrangements for transportation or conveyance or for hotel or lodging or for sightseeing services are made by H20 Ltd. d/b/a The Cruise Authority (TCA) on behalf of National Review, as agency for Holland America Line (HAL), and/or service providers and/or suppliers providing services necessary for operation of the tour upon the express condition that TCA shall not be liable for injury, damage, loss, accident, delay or irregularity to any tour participant or his or her property that may result from any act or omission of any company, contractor or employee thereof providing services in connection with the tour, including but not limited to transportation, lodging, food and beverage, entertainment, sightseeing, luggage handling and tour guiding. Furthermore, TCA cannot be held responsible for delays or costs incurred resulting from weather and road connections, breakdowns, strikes, riots, acts of God, authority of law or other circumstances beyond its control. In the event that a participant be entitled to a refund of monies paid, TCA will not be liable in excess of amount paid. TCA reserves the right to decline any persons as a tour participant at any time. TCA is not responsible for *price increases imposed by HAL and/or service providers.* Such increases may be implemented prior to deposit received. TCA is not responsible for breach of contract or any intentional or careless actions or omissions on *the part of HAL and/or service providers,* such as suppliers of tours or other services used or obtained on or at the time of the cruise or shore excursions, which result in any loss, damage, delay or injury to you or your travel companions or group members. TCA does not guarantee any of such suppliers rates, booking or reservations and TCA shall not be responsible for any social or labor unrest, mechanical or construction difficulties, diseases, local laws, climate conditions, abnormal conditions or developments or any other actions, omissions or conditions outside of TCA's control. TCA, nor National Review shall be responsible for the accessibility, appearance, actions or decisions of those individuals promoted for this cruise. By embarking upon his or her travel, the traveler voluntarily assumes all risks, and is advised to obtain appropriate insurance coverage against them. Retention of tickets, reservations, or package after issuance shall constitute a consent to the above and an agreement on your part to convey the contents hereof to your travel companions.

AIR TRAVEL: Holland America's "Fly Cruise" Program, which offers convenient round-trip, economy-class air transportation (First Class air is available on request; you cannot use frequent flyer points to upgrade these airfares to First Class)—and all baggage and transfers—from the following cities:

AL	Birmingham	479	FL	Pensacola	419	MA	Boston	449	NY	Buffalo	449	PA	Pittsburgh	449	TN	TriCities	529	FLORIDA MOTORCOACH TRAVEL	
	Huntsville	459		Tampa	219	MI	Detroit	479		NYC (LGA/JFK)	439		Wilkes-Barre	459	UT	Salt Lake City	699		
	Mobile	459	GA	Augusta	409		Grand Rapids	569		Rochester	449	RI	Providence	519	VA	Norfolk	449	Enjoy roundtrip motorcoach from	
AK	Anchorage	899		Atlanta	399		Lansing	569		Syracuse	449	SC	Charleston	419		Richmond	449	the following Florida cities for only	
AR	Little Rock	459		Savannah	409		Saginaw	619	NC	Charlotte	409		Columbia	419		Roanoke	449	$45 per person:	
AZ	Phoenix	609	HI	Honolulu	1,089	MN	Mnpls/St. Paul	549		Greensboro	409		Greenville	419	WA	Seattle	649		
	Tucson	649	ID	Boise	779		Rochester	609		Raleigh/Durham	449	SD	Sioux Falls	669		Spokane	719	*Boca Raton*	*Bradenton*
CA	Fresno	639	IL	*Chicago*	519	MS	Jackson	479	OK	Oklahoma City	529	TX	Amarillo	609	WI	Madison	569	Clearwater	Daytona Bch.
	Los Angeles	639	IN	Ft. Wayne	569	MO	Kansas City	539		Tulsa	529		Austin	539		Milwaukee	519	Ft. Myers	Ft. Pierce
	Oakland	679		Indianapolis	479	MO	Springfield	589	OH	Akron	479		*Corpus Christi*	609				Jacksonville	Lakeland
	Ontario	709	IA	Cedar Rapids	549		St. Louis	529		Cincinnati	459		Dallas/Ft. Worth	519		CANADA ($USD)		Leesburg	Melbourne
	Sacramento	659		Des Moines	539	MT	Billings	759		Cleveland	459		El Paso	639				Naples	Ocala
	San Diego	659	KS	Wichita	619	*NE*	*Lincoln*	569		Columbus	469		Houston (IAH)	479		Calgary	589	Orlando	Palm Coast
	San Francisco	639	KY	Lexington	459		Omaha	569		Dayton	469		Lubbock	609		Edmonton	589	Palm Harbor	Port Charlotte
	San Jose	659		Louisville	469	NV	Las Vegas	649	OR	Eugene	779		McAllen	519		Montreal	669	*Sarasota*	Sebastian
CO	Col. Springs	659	LA	Baton Rouge	459		Reno	649		Medford	779		Midland/Odessa	659		Ottawa	679	Sebring	Spring Hill
	Denver	6029		New Orleans	439	NH	Manchester	459		Portland	649		San Antonio	519		Quebec	719	St. Augustine	St. Petersburg
CT	Hartford	449		Shreveport	459	NJ	Newark	439	PA	*Allentown*	499	TN	Chattanooga	479		Toronto	659	Stuart	Sun City
DC	Washington	449	ME	Bangor	519	NM	Albuquerque	639		Erie	519		Knoxville	469		Vancouver	439	Tampa	Tarpon Springs
FL	Jacksonville	349		Portland	499	NY	Albany	499		Harrisburg	449		Memphis	469		Victoria	559	*Venice*	*Vero Beach*
	Orlando	209	MD	*Baltimore*	459		Binghamton	519		Philadelphia	449		Nashville	459		Winnipeg	619	W. Palm Beach	Winterhaven

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NATIONAL REVIEW

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letters to the editor

RANKING AND OUTRANKING

Jim Lacey's article "We're Number Twenty?!" (June 30) contains valid points, but his attack on the Center for Global Development's rating system is marred by factual errors, easy pronouncements, and a derisive tone. I will respond area by area:

Aid: The CGD counts the foreign aid countries give as a share of GDP. It then adjusts that amount for various factors. This is not, as Mr. Lacey implies, a trick to make the U.S. look bad, but an embodiment of common sense. The low U.S. score is simply due to the fact that we give so little.

Trade: The U.S. ranks first on openness to trade with developing countries, but Mr. Lacey is outraged that its margin over the EU is small. The EU's protectionism probably hurts poorer countries more than its foreign aid helps, but the same goes for the U.S.

Migration: The survey assesses contributions to processes of development in poorer countries, not to the welfare of the lucky minority that permanently settles in rich countries—a distinction Mr. Lacey seems to have missed. Freer trade in labor will generally contribute to processes of development. We therefore count how many migrants come from developing countries to work, not how many become citizens.

Investment: Mr. Lacey's "trillions" notwithstanding, portfolio investment from rich to poor countries has always been dwarfed by foreign direct investment, which is what the investment component focuses on. FDI has been more stable too, a virtue I cannot downplay as easily as Mr. Lacey. The "bizarre" FDI statistics we use are from standard sources.

Environment: Mr. Lacey writes that the survey is obsessed with the Kyoto Protocol on climate change: "It is only ratification that counts." We care about deeds far more than words. Mr. Lacey also errs in saying that the U.S. would do "much better" if CGD scaled nations' emissions to their GDPs rather than populations. Emissions per capita is not as absurd a measure as he suggests.

Peacekeeping: Mr. Lacey is right that the peacekeeping component falls short of grappling with the special role of the U.S. in global security—or insecurity. I welcome concrete suggestions for criteria, implementable against available data, that maximize the index's credibility across a broad political spectrum.

Mr. Lacey accuses me of "torturing" data to shame my country. The actual agenda is to highlight gaps in our understanding of the many ways that rich countries affect poor ones and to provoke public discussion of these issues.

David Roodman
Center for Global Development
Washington, D.C.

JIM LACEY REPLIES: *Mr. Roodman's comment that my article was derisive in tone is correct. The index he is defending is so biased in its assumptions that it cannot be taken seriously as a measuring tool. His claim that I should refrain from accusations that he twisted the data to make America look bad ring hollow. To put together this index, Mr. Roodman made dozens of assumptions. In every case where a subjective decision was made, it went against the U.S. I, too, will respond area by area:*

Aid: *European governments tax their populations and give it as aid. America taxes less and the people give privately. Our private giving is triple what our government gives, and none of it is included in the index.*

Trade: *Our trade policies often distort the markets and hurt poor countries, but we do only a small fraction of the damage Europe does. We pay our farmers not to grow crops. European governments pay farmers by how much they grow. This absolutely crushes farmers who cannot even compete in their home countries.*

Migration: *The U.S. continues to absorb more migrants than the rest of the world combined. Mr. Roodman worked hard to put us at the bottom and tiny, xenophobic Switzerland at the top. We often take in enough migrants in a year or two to populate a new Switzerland.*

Investment: *My questions dealt with*

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letters to the editor

how FDI was counted and why portfolio investment was left out. This is truly bizarre since, according to the IMF, portfolio investment in the developing world equals $3 trillion, or double annual FDI flows.

Environment: *I stand by my original comments. Mr. Roodman would do better to stop worrying about the unproven science of greenhouse gases and focus on providing children with clean drinking water.*

Peacekeeping: *There is no lack of data on peacekeeping. America has twice saved all of the nations that outscored us in this area from murderous tyrants and has asked almost nothing of them in return.*

The index is beyond flawed. It will require a top-to-bottom reassessment of all of its assumptions before any policymaker could or should give it any credence whatsoever.

ANCHORS AWEIGH

I was disappointed by John Miller's article "Babylon Comes to Sparta" (July 14). As academic dean and provost for the United States Naval Academy, and also as a USNA graduate and a retired Navy rear admiral, I believe your readers deserve a more factual account. Rebutting every point would take more space than allowed herein, but readers should understand:

The 550-member Academy faculty provides a noteworthy strength. Balanced contributions from both civilian professional educators and professional military officers form an integral part of Academy heritage, culture, and effectiveness. The civilian faculty lends continuity and subject-matter depth to the Academy's educational program. The military officers, selected for their academic and military expertise, serve as role models while complementing the permanent faculty with perspectives and tangible experiences.

Preparing military officers is a developmental process larger than the academic program. Midshipmen are provided with a four-year integrated program of academic study, intense professional training, unsurpassed leadership and character development, athletic participation, and extracurricular activities to prepare them for the challenges they will face as leaders. Such professional development is not all taught in classrooms; it is hammered out in structured military units by company officers and their senior enlisted leaders, and reinforced on the decks of Navy ships or in the field with Marines during summer training.

The Academy is the Navy's most cost-effective source of producing career officers. Mr. Miller's flawed analysis misinterprets the Academy mission. It does not exist, in Mr. Miller's words, "to mint new officers." The mission of the Academy is "to develop midshipmen morally, mentally and physically and to imbue them with the highest ideals of duty, honor and loyalty in order to provide graduates who are dedicated to a career of naval service and have potential for future development in mind and character to assume the highest responsibilities of command, citizenship and government."

Although the Academy commissions a relatively small fraction of the new officers joining the Navy each year, on average these officers stay longer and rise higher than their contemporaries from other commissioning sources. Correcting a factual error in Mr. Miller's article, the current commandant of the Marine Corps ('68) and the vice chairman of the Joint Chiefs ('67) are Academy graduates.

Mr. Miller erred in dramatizing a discussion he did not personally witness concerning a draft paper by an officer faculty member. The Academy's history department conducts regular discussions of scholarly works-in-progress by military and civilian faculty. In this crucible, ideas are challenged, assumptions questioned, factual support assessed, and clarity enhanced. Such was the discussion of this junior officer's draft treatise regarding the U.S. Marine Corps' action on Iwo Jima. All present recognized the preliminary nature of the paper, and the young officer is greatly offended that someone not even present misused his draft research to bolster preconceived notions.

Finally, contrary to Mr. Miller's assertion regarding civilian-faculty influence, the Marine officer cited in the article is regularly evaluated by a Marine colonel, his division director. Civilian professors do not approve officer performance reports.

The USNA is an institution with a 158-year track record of successfully preparing combat leaders. In stark contrast to the institution Mr. Miller describes, USNA remains, in the words of both the Academy's latest major accreditation review and a more recent special committee of the congressionally mandated Board of Visitors, ". . . a national resource of distinctive character and remarkable excellence."

William C. Miller
Academic Dean and Provost
U.S. Naval Academy
Annapolis, Md.

JOHN J. MILLER REPLIES: *Dean Miller is correct about one thing: There are currently two Naval Academy graduates on the Joint Chiefs of Staff, not one. I regret the error.*

I also regret that the Naval Academy and Dean Miller refused to cooperate with me in my reporting. I had arranged a visit to Annapolis, which was to include an interview with the dean, only to have USNA cancel it a day beforehand. From that point on, the Academy's public-affairs office refused to provide me with any information, including answers to mundane questions such as numbers of faculty members and midshipmen.

With the exception of the JCS mistake, I stand by everything in my article, which is based in large measure upon interviews with current and former professors and students, all of them conducted without USNA assistance and many of them off-the-record. I also remain astonished that a Marine captain in the Naval Academy's history department would assert that the Iwo Jima campaign was a racist military operation, even in a "draft treatise."

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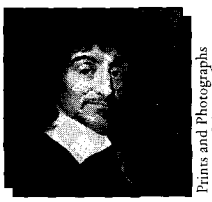
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He is author or editor of more than 40 books, including *Wild Beasts & Idle Humours: The Insanity Defense from Antiquity to the Present*, *An Intellectual History of Psychology*, *The Mind: An Oxford Reader*, and *Aristotle's Psychology.*

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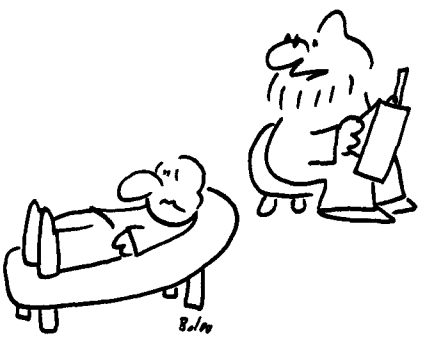

"That's no big deal—James Carville is out to get a lot of people!"

■ In *Newsweek* poll, President **Bush**'s approval rating dips to 55 percent. . . . Bush: "As long as I hold this office, I will never risk the lives of American citizens by assuming the goodwill of dangerous enemies." . . . White House says budget deficit will reach $455 billion this year. . . . Club for Growth president **Stephen Moore** on proposed prescription-drug benefit: "We have not seen such an effort to expand the size and scope of the federal government since the Clintons' health-care scheme in 1993." . . . Rep. **Mike Pence** (R., Ind.), in *USA Today*: "The White House and Republican leadership have not accurately calculated the impact of this new federal entitlement on our conservative base. For us to even appear to become the party of entitlements . . . could have a very negative impact on the enthusiasm of conservative voters in the 2004 election." . . . "That's not the Republican party I know, to create such an entitlement," says Rep. **Jeff Flake** (R., Ariz.) of Medicare legislation, in *Washington Post*. "We've abandoned our principles." . . . **Ari Fleischer** on growing war costs: "What about the cost of September 11? What is the cost of a country that is attacked? What is the price that the American people would have to pay if something like that were ever to happen again?"

■ Sen. **John Edwards** (D., N.C.), in *New York Times*: "It's important that we not lose sight of the bigger picture, which is the enormous failure that is looming in Iraq right now." . . . Sen. **John Kerry** (D., Mass.): "Americans have a right to ask a question, 'Are we safer today than we were three years ago?'" . . . More Kerry, on CNN: "I believe there are enormous questions still about the overall intelligence given to the Congress, the quality of that intelligence." . . . Kerry in 1997: "Now that that [the Cold War] struggle is over, why is it that our vast intelligence apparatus continues to grow even as government resources for new and essential priorities fall far short of what is necessary?" . . . Sen. **Joe Lieberman** (D., Conn.), on Fox: "I have no doubt that **Saddam Hussein** had weapons of mass destruction."

■ Rep. **Dick Gephardt** (D., Mo.): "In my first five seconds as president, I would fire **John Ashcroft** as attorney general." . . . Edwards: "We cannot allow people like John Ashcroft to take away our rights and our freedoms." . . . Gephardt, Lieberman, and Rep. **Dennis Kucinich** (D., Ohio) don't appear at NAACP convention and president **Kweisi Mfume** explodes: "You now have become persona non grata. Your political capital is the equivalent of Confederate dollars." . . . By way of apology, Lieberman suggests Mfume (no law degree) belongs on Supreme Court. . . . **Elizabeth Birch** of Human Rights Campaign on Democratic debate hosted by her gay-rights group: "This marks the first time in our nation's history that a group of White House contenders has come together to speak specifically to gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender Americans."

■ In Field Poll, approval rating for California governor **Gray Davis** (D.) drops to 23 percent. . . . Rep. **Pat Toomey** (R., Pa.) offers bill to halt federal funding of sex-behavior research; tells Fox News: "I just think it's awfully important, at a time when we're running big deficits and we're spending too much, that we take a look at these kinds of programs that just can't pass the common-sense test and rein them in." . . . D.C. school-choice bill struggles as Sen. **Arlen Specter** (R., Pa.) announces opposition. . . . Sen. **Orrin Hatch** (R., Utah) proposes constitutional amendment allowing foreign-born people who have been naturalized citizens for 20 years to serve as president.

■ In Zogby poll, 70 percent of Arab Americans say they have not "experienced discrimination in the past because of" ethnicity. . . . Federal appeals court rejects request from **Bill** and **Hillary Clinton** to have taxpayers pay $3.5 million for legal costs tied to Whitewater probe. . . . In Gallup poll, 15 percent say recent Supreme Court rulings were "too conservative," 31 percent say "too liberal," and 48 percent say "just about right." . . . 2003 Presidential Medal of Freedom recipients include **Jacques Barzun**, **Vaclav Havel**, **Charlton Heston**, **Edward Teller**, and **James Q. Wilson**. . . . Longtime leader of National Right to Work Committee **Reed Larson** retires, succeeded by executive vice president **Mark Mix**.

■ British prime minister **Tony Blair**, in address to Congress: "There is no more dangerous theory in international politics today than that we need to balance the power of America with other competitor powers, different poles around which nations gather." . . . Iraqi Governing Council abolishes holidays established by Saddam Hussein and chooses April 9 as national holiday to commemorate liberation of Baghdad. . . . U.S. district court orders Iranian government to pay $313 million to children of American woman killed in 1997 Jerusalem suicide bombing. . . . **Jian-li Yang** is at last confirmed alive. He is the scholar, Tiananmen Square hero, and democracy activist—who is a permanent U.S. resident and whose wife and kids are U.S. citizens—who was arrested in the spring of 2002 by the PRC and banished to a dungeon. A website dedicated to his freedom is found at www.SupportJianli.org.

■ Blair: "On our way down here, Senator **Frist** was kind enough to show me the fireplace where in 1814 the British burned the Congress library. I know this is kind of late, but: Sorry." **NR**

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THE WEEK

■ Uday and Qusay are ead-day.

■ Gen. John P. Abizaid, newly in charge of operations in Iraq, called the ongoing fighting there "a classical guerrilla-type campaign. . . . It's low-intensity conflict in our doctrinal terms, but it's war however you describe it." This candor is not grounds for despair. Americans remembering Vietnam, jihadists remembering Afghanistan, and Democrats running for president imagine that guerrilla fighters always win. In fact they generally lose, as Communists from Greece to Malaya to the Philippines found, if the proper combination of isolation, suasion, and force is applied. Gen. Abizaid made that point too: "It's not a matter of boots per square meter. It's a matter of focused intelligence, and then troops that are agile enough to carry out missions in a manner that can cause surprise and take down the targets precisely." Accordingly, he plans to shift the force structure from armor to lighter forces. Meanwhile, the Americans and the British have begun training Iraqi militia, with the approval of the new Iraqi Governing Council. If ambitious troublemakers like Moqtada Sadr, the Shiite cleric who summoned a demonstration in Najaf, want to play, they will have to play along. We have in Iraq what our ill-fated sorties in Lebanon and Somalia lacked, a clear and vital mission: Our security demands that we keep the country out of the hands of Baathist brutes and their well-trained scientists. This demands time, intelligence, and valor.

■ A lot of reporters and Democrats seem to believe that we went to war with Iraq because of an intelligence report about Niger; that this report was known to be false; and that President Bush therefore misled Americans into war. The accusations say more about the people making them than they do about the president. What Bush said, in his State of the Union address this year, was that "the British government has learned that Saddam Hussein recently sought significant quantities of uranium from Africa." The British government stands by that claim. It has a world-class intelligence service, and Bush officials ought to have stood by its assessment. Because the CIA cannot verify the claim, however, the White House made the fatal concession that Bush should not have mentioned it in his speech. The feeding frenzy began. But this is awfully thin gruel. Nobody thought at the time of Bush's speech that the case for military action against Iraq hinged on that sentence. Nobody can seriously maintain it now. Congress voted to authorize war last fall, before Bush even gave his speech. As for the claim that Saddam Hussein attempted to buy uranium from Africa, it may yet be proven true. The Bush administration emerges from this episode with its reputation for sound political judgment tarnished. The opposition emerges with its reputation for seriousness about national security more or less unchanged.

Kweisi Mfume and friend

ROMAN GENN

■ The Democrats are crying loudly over the American fighting stiff. Said Ted Kennedy, "The great tragedy would be American servicemen and women risking and losing their lives in Iraq based upon flawed, distorted, and failed intelligence." Democrats are also praising the integrity of the CIA. Funny what the need to bash a conservative Republican president will do.

■ Florida senator Bob Graham seems to be carving out a new niche for himself: that of the deranged moderate. Graham is supposed to be a great asset to the Democrats. He has a moderate record, foreign-policy experience, and popularity in a state rich with electoral votes. He has often been discussed as a vice-presidential nominee. But he hasn't been getting much attention in the presidential primaries, and so he keeps turning up the volume. In his latest eruption, he suggested that Bush's alleged deceptions in the run-up to the Iraq war warrant impeachment. (Graham, of course, voted against impeaching Clinton for breaking laws.) Graham's strategy does not appear to be working: The fire-breathers have settled on Howard Dean. What Graham may be doing is talking himself out of the number-two slot.

■ Joe Lieberman, Dick Gephardt, and Dennis Kucinich missed the candidates' forum at the annual NAACP convention in Miami Beach, and all hell broke loose. NAACP pres-

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THE WEEK...

ident Kweisi Mfume said the no-shows' political capital was now worth "Confederate dollars." "The African-American community is one of the most important parts of the Democratic party," said Howard Dean. So the three truants arrived three days later. Mfume scored their grovels: "Mr. Kucinich said 'I'm sorry' two times in the five minutes that he was afforded. He may have said it three times. Mr. Gephardt said 'I'm sorry' and 'I apologize,' and Mr. Lieberman said 'I apologize,' 'I'm sorry,' and 'I'm sorry.'" The point of this modern minstrel show is that Howard Dean is right: Democrats need a 90 percent black vote to stay competitive in national elections. They win it, moreover, with rusting policies and acts of symbolic deference. Bad for Democrats, bad for blacks, bad for the country.

■ Asked by CBS's Bob Schieffer to justify the fawning description of Cuban tyrant Fidel Castro in his book *Al on America*, Democratic presidential candidate Al Sharpton gave one of his finest recent performances: "I don't admire him putting his political opponents in jail any more than I admire the Bush administration for locking us up for protesting in Vieques." In his book, Sharpton described Castro thus: "He's brilliant. I've never met anyone with a more rapid mind. He's reasonable and intelligent." Let's trace the logic of Sharpton's statements: 1) Okay, fine. Tyrannizing Cuba is sorta bad. 2) But bomb-testing in Vieques is really bad too. 3) So tyrannizing Cuba and bomb-testing in Vieques are equally bad. 4) Castro and Bush are equally bad. 5) Therefore Al Sharpton is a martyr for freedom, just like any Cuban dissident. 6) Except Castro isn't really so bad. 7) And Steven Pagones *really did rape Tawana Brawley*, whatever those white interlopers say . . .

■ Rep. Dennis Kucinich may just be the most endearing candidate of the Democratic primaries—no, really. Discussing the Supreme Court picks of a President Kucinich, he said he without doubt would appoint a homosexual justice, including "any lesbian, bisexual, or transgender person—just as long as they'd be willing to uphold *Roe* v. *Wade*." That is maybe the Perfect Democratic Statement, one for the ages. Even the ungrammatical "they," instead of "he," is . . . perfect.

■ Speaking of perfect statements, how about this? The proposed motto for the European Union is "United in Diversity." This is, indeed, an ideal nonsense phrase for a nonsensical era. "United in Diversity" means precisely nothing (unlike our society-defining—or once-society-defining—*E pluribus unum*, which Al Gore—not Dan Quayle—once rendered, "Out of one, many," giving the true view of modern Democrats). "United in Diversity" is just a collection of syllables designed to soothe the contemporary ear: an ear increasingly dead to real meaning.

■ When he's coming up for reelection, Sen. Arlen Specter often makes a few polite gestures toward the conservatives in his GOP base. The liberal Republican of Pennsylvania is scheduled to face the voters again next year, and so far we've received little more than those gestures. On July 17, Specter joined Senate Democrats in opposing a provision that would grant school choice to 2,000 poor students currently condemned to a lousy education in D.C.'s public schools, even though the measure has the support of the White House, the District's Democratic mayor, and Specter's Democratic colleague Dianne Feinstein. He has also refused to declare his ultimate support for the embattled judicial nomination of William Pryor. Two more reasons for Pennsylvania conservatives to get behind Specter's GOP primary opponent, Rep. Pat Toomey.

■ Congress has been involved in a heated debate about whether to allow Americans to import drugs from Canada. Supporters believe that importation would allow Americans to benefit from Canadian price controls. Opponents believe that it would cripple the pharmaceutical industry and expose Americans to unsafe and counterfeit drugs, and even to the possibility that terrorists will ship tainted drugs to us. Our sense is that the opponents have the better arguments. Some of the opponents' tactics, however, have been reprehensible. PhRMA, the pharmaceutical lobby, appears to have given money to a social-conservative group, the Traditional Values Coalition, to send out letters attacking pro-life congressmen who support the importation bill. The TVC claims that the bill would make RU-486, the "abortion pill," as easy to get as aspirin. Schoolgirls, it says, will be able to get the drug legally over the Internet. These claims are false. Needless to say, the TVC has not informed the recipients of its letters of its relationship with PhRMA. Republican leaders, who are closely allied with PhRMA, should make it clear that they will not tolerate scurrilous attacks on the pro-lifers in their caucus. TVC members, meanwhile, should reconsider their support for that organization: This is not the first time that serious questions have been raised about the TVC's financial morals. And the Rev. Lou Sheldon, the head of the TVC, should reread the commandment about bearing false witness.

■ After going through the motions of Title IX reform—setting up a commission, holding hearings, receiving recommendations—the Bush administration has proved the process to be a charade. In July, the Department of Education upheld the current Title IX guidelines, including the Clinton-era quota that has spelled death for many men's sports teams in colleges across the country. Even the modest recommendations that the commission unanimously endorsed were not implemented. Fear of feminists has made many a weak man weaker. We expected better of this administration.

■ The World Trade Organization ruled that the steel tariffs imposed by President Bush are a violation of its rules. The administration will appeal and, just as surely, it will lose. The tariffs *are* in violation of WTO rules. Labor leaders are already shouting that the WTO has compromised American sovereignty, but this is incorrect. All the WTO is doing is saying that the European Union and Japan would be justified in imposing retaliatory tariffs against us, which it would be their sovereign right to do in any case. Besides, the steel tariffs vio-

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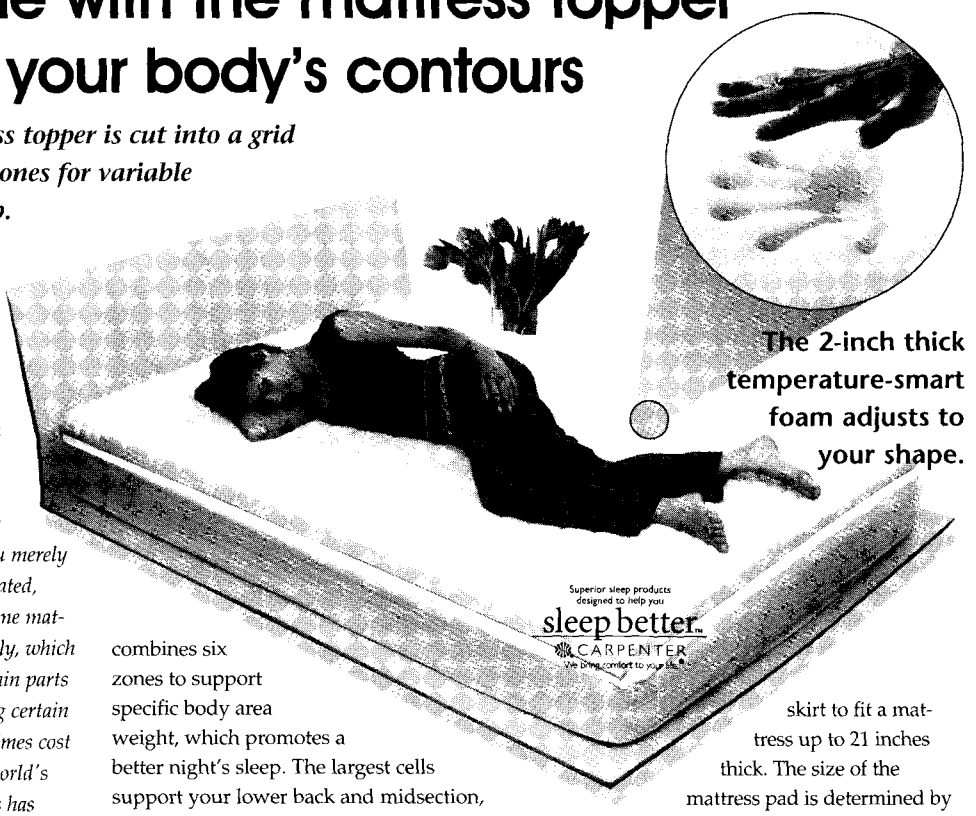

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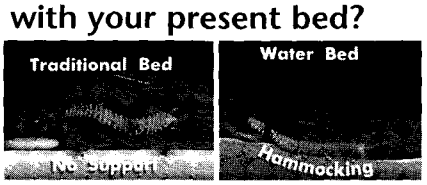

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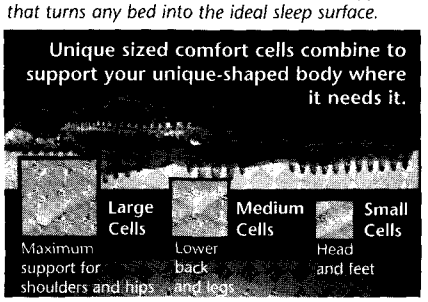
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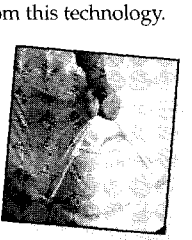

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THE WEEK...

late U.S. law, too. (The American trade bureaucracy had to perform legal somersaults to justify a tariff.) Bush now has a real problem on his hands. If he abandons the tariffs, steelworkers in key states may feel betrayed as he runs for reelection. If he does not withdraw the steel tariffs, however, the EU has pledged to impose retaliatory tariffs designed to hurt other key states. Reaching an agreement with the EU on agricultural trade, a vital interest for American farmers, will be harder. The president may well find the politics impossible to sort out. Perhaps he should consider just doing the right thing. The steel tariffs have done enough damage to the American economy; there is no evidence that they have led to the industry restructuring that steel lobbyists promised; they should go.

■ The Supreme Court's decision in June to strike down sodomy laws is being hailed not only as a great advance for civil rights, enlightenment, tolerance, etc., but also as evidence of the broadmindedness of the justices in the majority. Justice Kennedy cited the European Court of Human Rights as an authority on American law. Even better, he drew on cutting-edge gay scholarship. This was a triumph for "gay studies," according to Rick Perlstein in the *Washington Post*. This scholarship established, first, that for most of our (and, indeed, world) history people thought of homosexuality as a kind of behavior rather than a kind of identity; and second, that the law had for most of this history prohibited many forms of sexual immorality in addition to homosexual conduct. Therefore, Kennedy reasoned, it cannot be said that America has a long tradition of prohibitionist laws targeting homosexual persons. But Kennedy's conclusion begs all the important questions. The Texas sodomy law prohibited types of acts, not types of persons; in that respect, it was squarely within American tradition. All that the historical record actually proves is that nobody—from the founding of the Republic until June 2003—believed that any part of the Constitution established a right to any kind of sexual behavior. So Justice Kennedy has twisted the content of gay studies. But he has, we concede, stayed true to its spirit. He took a politicized academic field and politicized it still further. A triumph of sorts.

■ Nevada's governor, Republican Kenny Guinn, wanted to raise taxes. But he couldn't get two-thirds of the legislature to agree with him, which was the bar he had to clear under a constitutional amendment the voters of the state had adopted in 1996. So the Nevada Supreme Court outrageously decided to set aside the two-thirds requirement. The court reasoned that the constitution also required the government to fund public education, and this "substantive" provision of the constitution had to take precedence over merely "procedural" provisions. Even after two generations of judicial activism, the awfulness of this decision stands out. The two-thirds requirement may be procedural, but it is there to protect a substantive right: the right to keep control of one's own property. Why, in any case, should the requirement have been put in conflict with education funding? If the court was going to set budget policy on the basis of its views of what constitutes "adequate" education funding, it could have ordered spending cuts elsewhere. For that matter, why stop at getting rid of the two-thirds requirement? If raising taxes is so imperative, why not get rid of the 50 percent requirement too? The court could just as well have ruled that tax increases would take effect when a third of the legislature voted for them. The requirement that a tax increase has to pass the legislature at all is "procedural." Why shouldn't the court just order a tax hike itself? Nevada's constitution allows judges to be removed for "any reasonable cause," and judges can also be recalled in elections. We hope that Nevadans exercise one of these options.

■ The Republican governor of Massachusetts, Mitt Romney, and his two sons were vacationing in New Hampshire when they saved a family of six (and their dog) after their boat sank in Lake Winnipesaukee. Some Bay State Democrats were not impressed: "There are lots of people drowning in the Commonwealth right now who would certainly welcome a rescue," said one; "Mitt Romney only chooses to run for office from Massachusetts—he doesn't vacation here," groused another—thus proving that mindless, heartless partisanship can occur under any circumstances whatsoever. Speaking of partisanship: We can't help comparing Romney, who saves people from drowning, and another big Massachusetts pol, who . . . well, you know.

■ Tony Blair is only the fourth British prime minister to have been invited to a joint session of Congress. In a well-written speech, he appealed to history to be the judge of his decision to join the United States in liberating Iraq. Huge applause. Numerous standing ovations. And great was the fall of it. For while Blair was in the midst of triumph, back home in the Oxfordshire countryside Dr. David Kelly was slitting his wrist, precipitating a major political crisis. A biologist by profession, and an outstanding U.N. weapons inspector in the '90s, Kelly had tracked down some of Saddam Hussein's WMD, and few experts knew more on the subject. Attached to the Ministry of Defense, he had official status. His foible was to talk to journalists, and in the run-up to the Iraq cam-

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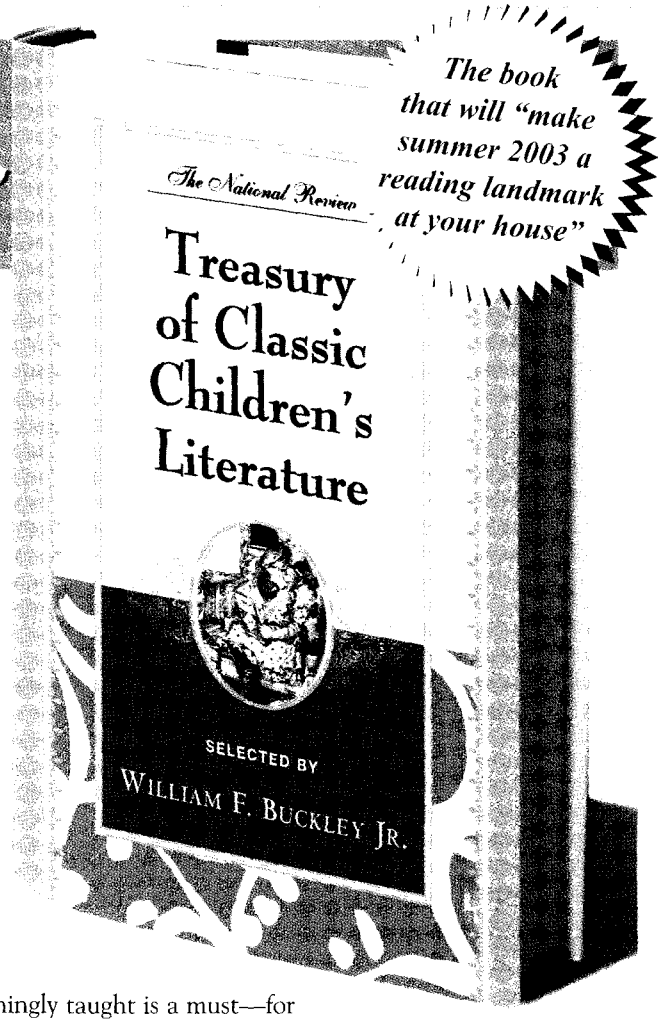
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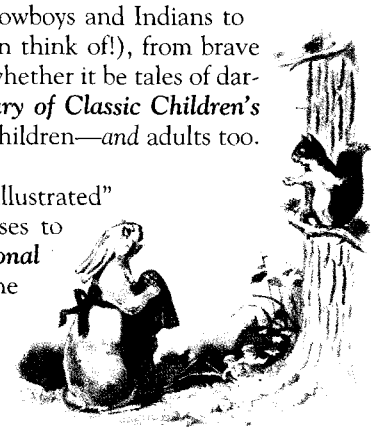

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THE WEEK...

paign he gave an interview to Andrew Gilligan of the BBC. Gilligan then covered the war in Baghdad. He made a name for himself by declaring that there were no American troops in the Iraqi capital, when they were, in fact, entering—it was probably wishful thinking on his part. What exactly transpired in the interview he had with Kelly remains uncertain, but Gilligan subsequently made large claims to the effect that the government falsified intelligence about Iraq's weapons of mass destruction in order to drag the country into war. He also scattered enough clues for others to be able to identify Kelly as his anonymous source. A House of Commons committee summoned Kelly and browbeat him. Everyone concerned is now blaming everyone else for the man's death. There is to be an official inquiry into the tangled mass of lies and buck-passing. One possible outcome is the resignation of Gilligan and the BBC high-ups who are protecting him. Alternatively Kelly's suicide may end public trust in Blair, which would be an outrageous result indeed.

■ At press time, Idi Amin was mortally ailing. How many times did we tell him, in desert heat, eat the bodies fresh, or fix the freezer.

■ Axis of Evil watch: On North Korea's Day of the Sun—which is to say, the anniversary of the birth of the late Great Leader Kim Il Sung—a large floral tribute from Yasser Arafat was delivered. Reported the Korean Central News Agency: "Shaher Mohammed Abdlah, Palestinian ambassador to the DPRK, placed the floral basket before [Kim's] statue and made a bow today. Written on the ribbon of the floral basket were letters: 'The Great Leader Kim Il Sung Will Be Immortal.'" The current Dear Leader Kim Jong Il has also been the recipient of flowers from Arafat, who must be running up quite a tab with the Ramallah branch of Interflora. Credit the PLO chairman with knowing the way to the hearts of his fellow dictators, at any rate. The North Korean regime has always had a strong horticultural theme, with the Kims, *père et fils*, both having had flowers named after them: the *kimilsungia* (a hybrid orchid) and the *kimjongilia* (a variety of begonia), respectively. Botanical databases currently yield no references to *yasserarafatia*.

■ Across the pond, the BBC is running a series titled "Defining Moments," in which "influential figures around the world" speak about their motivations. Invited to participate, leading British playwright Harold Pinter extruded the following: "Particularly in the political structure of the world at the moment, writing has become even more important. Because I think it's very important for the writer to speak up about the total degradation of our world, which I believe is inspired by the United States of America, which I think is a disastrous force—an extremely dangerous force. I really believe they might blow the whole world up if we don't watch our step." Mr. Pinter's latest play, *Celebration*, portrays "exemplars of 1990s greed." The multifaceted Mr. Pinter is also a poet. One of his recent productions in this line is titled "God Bless America" and commences: "Here they go again, / The Yanks in their armoured parade / Chanting their ballads of joy / As they gallop across the big world / Praising America's God." What kind of country does Mr. Pinter *like*? Can you guess? He describes himself as "an active delegate" of the Cuba Solidarity Campaign . . .

■ The first reunion at Monticello of descendants of Sally Hemings, Thomas Jefferson's slave and reputed lover, provoked a spate of stories. Prize-winning historian Joseph J. Ellis expressed the consensus: "Most serious scholars" believe Jefferson "clearly had a sexual relationship" with her. Ellis and the consensus go too far. A 1998 DNA test of Jefferson and Hemings descendants showed that Sally's last child was fathered by a Jefferson. The burden of disproof now lies on the third president because his defenders had always argued that Sally's lovers were Jefferson nephews named Carr (the DNA tests sought a chromosome passed only through the male line, and no Carr matches turned up). Yet the evidence is still controversial. Could the progenitor have been some other contemporary male Jefferson? The president and his family had an interest in protecting his reputation. But his Federalist enemies, who first printed the story, had an interest in blackening it, and the Hemingses had an interest in burnishing their family tree. (Who would you rather be descended from: Thomas Jefferson or Jim-Bob Jefferson?) Sally's last child was conceived when President Jefferson was wracked by migraines. Would that make sex impossible for a sexagenarian, or essential? And so on. The real story of Jefferson and slavery, meanwhile, is public: his lifelong belief that it was against justice and nature, and the anxieties and evasions that marked his policies toward it.

■ The Peter Jennings show had a scoop. A couple of soldiers in Iraq—110 degrees, sand, snipers, stay extended for a couple of months—are damned sore and denouncing government officials. Of course they have complaints. Bill Mauldin's Willie and Joe were not all smiles or talking like Lord Chesterfield about the joys of Anzio. When Gen. Douglas MacArthur waded ashore in the Philippines, dampening the cuffs of his well-pressed khakis, he became a joke all over the Pacific: "Dugout Doug." Airing discontent on national television is, however, an offense against military discipline, the encouragement of which is an impropriety for journalists.

■ In Marin County, Calif., 23 residents recently presented superintendent Thomas Lohwasser with a petition to have the Dixie School District renamed the Miller Creek Elementary School District. Explains the *Marin Independent Journal*: "The name Dixie, opponents say, harkens to a dark period of the nation's history, conjures up images of slavery and memorializes the battle cry of the Confederacy during the Civil War." Just think how traumatic it must be for Marin res-

EDITOR'S NOTE: The next issue of NATIONAL REVIEW will appear in three weeks.

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idents to drink water from a Dixie cup, or flip on a radio and hear a song by the Dixie Chicks.

■ Celia Cruz—sometimes known as the Queen of Salsa—has died at 78. She was a marvelous singer and entertainer, exporting Cuban culture to the entire world. She was also, as an article in the *Miami Herald* noted, "the very embodiment of a fabled, nostalgia-hued Cuba . . . Her death represents the shattered hopes of every [exiled grandfather or grandmother] who prayed [he] would live long enough to see the end of Fidel Castro." The Queen escaped in 1960, and Castro refused to let her return even to bury her mother. Her records were banned in Cuba, but they circulated anyway. Again according to the *Herald*, her "biggest dream was to go back home, even if just for a last glimpse. But she refused to do so with Castro in power." She did go to the Guantanamo Naval Base once, in 1990. Said Rep. Ileana Ros-Lehtinen, who accompanied her, "She was crying the whole time. She walked over to the fence that separates the base from the rest of Cuba and reached through to take soil from the Cuban side. Then something eerie happened. She was performing on this very hot, still day. But all of a sudden, the Cuban flag starts to ripple. . . . We were all astounded." R.I.P.

LAW

A Necessary Amendment

ANY day now, the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts is expected to declare that men can marry men and women can marry women. National politicians are already trying to figure out what response, if any, they should make.

The instinct of many people will be to echo what Dick Cheney said in the vice-presidential debate of 2000: that the regulation of marriage should be left to the states. Massachusetts can recognize same-sex "marriages," and Vermont "civil unions," and the other 48 states can reach their own arrangements. Federalism has not, in the past, been understood as an absolute rule in matters marital: The federal government forced states to end polygamy and to allow interracial marriages. But whether the matter should, in theory, be left to the states is irrelevant. The courts are exceedingly unlikely to let that happen.

What happens when a same-sex couple from Wyoming gets "married" in Massachusetts? There is every reason to expect that liberal legal activists will sue, both in federal and state courts, to get Wyoming to recognize that marriage as valid. To be sure, Congress has tried to close off one path to the litigators. The Defense of Marriage Act, passed in 1996, says that states are not required, under the full faith and credit clause, to recognize other states' same-sex marriages. But a state court could easily twist some state constitutional provision to force that recognition. Or a federal court could strike down the Defense of Marriage Act. Twice already, the Supreme Court has nullified laws that reflect traditional understandings of sexual morality on the theory that such laws are based on an irrational "animus" against gay people. On that reasoning, why should the Defense of Marriage Act stand?

Or a federal court could leave the Defense of Marriage Act alone, but empty it of meaning. The court could reason that Wyoming has the right under the act to decline to recognize same-sex marriages created in Massachusetts, but that its decision to exercise that right is based on an unconstitutional animus. In a world where freewheeling judicial activism is routine and the legal culture is overwhelmingly on the side of progressive understandings of morality, the possibilities are endless. If we didn't live in that world, perhaps we could put our faith in federalism. But we cannot wish that world away.

We would object to judges' taking it upon themselves to impose a national regime of gay marriage. But we would also object to what would be imposed. Traditionally, marriage has been understood to be ordered to procreation. This ordering was not, in general, understood in a narrowly instrumental way. The tradition did not insist that "the purpose of marriage is to raise children." Married couples were never required to have, to want, or even to be capable of having children. Elderly couples could marry. Infertility was not held to be a valid ground for annulment. Still, there was a link to procreation. Impotence *was* a valid ground for annulment, because it meant that the couple could not effect the behavioral conditions for procreation; that it could not unite in the total, including biological, sense required of true union. It was understood that the ideal setting for the rearing of children was the marriage of their parents.

Gay marriage would cut the final cord that ties marriage to the well-being of children. It is a step we should not take.

That ideal could not always be achieved. Tragedy could leave a child parentless and in need of adoption. Children could be born outside of marriage. These realities did not challenge the culture-wide commitment to the ideal, just as the recognition that adultery exists does not bring the virtue of fidelity into question. The widespread practice of divorce and remarriage did, however, challenge the ideal. So have such seemingly marginal developments as the rise of sperm banks. Gay marriage would cut the final cord that ties marriage to the well-being of children. It is a step we should not take. Our cultural forgetting of the meaning of marriage has already had too many sad consequences for children and adults (not least for their moral development).

Whether we wish to prevent the judicial imposition of gay marriage for procedural or substantive reasons, it seems clear that the only way to do so is by constitutional amendment. And while we do not carry a brief for every word and comma in it, the proposed Federal Marriage Amendment seems to do the job well. It reads: "Marriage in the United States shall consist only of the union of a man and a woman. Neither this constitution or the constitution of any state, nor state or federal law, shall be construed to require that marital status or the legal incidents thereof be conferred upon unmarried couples or groups." The first sentence of the amendment would ban gay marriage. The second sentence would bar judges from granting legal privileges to same-sex

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couples (or groups), but allow state legislatures to make their own decisions in the matter.

Some Republican lawmakers would modify the amendment to focus more narrowly on blocking judicial abuse. In effect they would strike the first sentence. Other conservatives want to be *more* ambitious. They would have the amendment ban all kinds of civil unions, domestic partnerships, and other weakenings of marriage, period, whether reached by judicial fiat or democratic deliberation. We have no objection in principle to either type of change. Our tentative political judgment is that nothing weaker than the proposed amendment can galvanize support, and nothing stronger can clear the high hurdles that the Constitution sets for amendments.

Conservative politicians have in the past embraced any number of somewhat frivolous constitutional amendments. The flag-burning amendment comes to mind. But conservatives retain a healthy resistance to fiddling with our basic political document. Judges have, unfortunately, displayed no such resistance in recent decades. On an issue where the stakes could hardly be higher, they need to be resisted. A constitutional amendment is the way to resist.

OBITUARY

Rosalyn Tureck, R.I.P.

SHE died (finally) on July 17. As it happened, only a few minutes after a Tureck tribute at the Mannes School in New York at which the audience—more accurately, the congregants—heard her playing on video and tapes, listened to a lecture or two about her accomplishments, and on to two young pianists who tried to communicate her authoritative style. They played, of course, J. S. Bach. She and Bach devoted their lives to each other.

WFB AND ROSALYN TURECK ON *FIRING LINE*

I approached her in the late Sixties, inviting her to appear on *Firing Line* to discuss a recent jab at Bach by a young protester in Los Angeles who had raged at a public rally that Bach had nothing to say to modern life. I knew her, as everyone who listened to Bach did, as the greatest living interpreter of his works. She had played the whole piano repertory, old and new—David Diamond wrote a piano sonata for her. Her first public performance in Chicago was done at age nine, and after intensive studies with fine artists in Chicago and at the Juilliard School, she began her exhaustive career, giving, gradually, only all-Bach programs. She played in every part of the world, earning, always, standing ovations, and taught music and musicology at Oxford, Yale, and Cal Tech.

We became friends, and she appeared five times on *Firing Line* programs, on one of them defending the role of the performing artist against the claim that technology had anachronized the live recital, a claim flamboyantly advanced by Glenn Gould. There was nothing here to be confused with fuddy-duddyism: She was receptive to explorations at every level, even mastering the (New Age) Theremin after some years of study with its developer. She performed on the harpsichord and, indeed, on the clavichord and organ, but was supreme on the piano, writing, collaterally, technical papers and books on performance and musical structure.

In 1977, she undertook at Carnegie Hall to play the *Goldberg Variations* before dinner on the harpsichord, and to play them after dinner on the piano, intending to display the strengths and individuality of the two instruments, at her singular hands. To do that one thinks of singing Tristan in the afternoon and Siegfried in the evening. At a reception—held at our quarters after the event—she declined to shake hands (dear Rosalyn could sometimes be attracted to personal drama). The *Goldbergs* are thought of as her signature piece. When she was 17, she undertook to learn this formidable work (I once timed her in it—118 minutes). After seven weeks she agreed to perform it for fellow students at Juilliard. Her teacher simply assumed that she would rely on the music, but she didn't even bring it to the piano, tucking away only a few three-by-five cards giving the beginning bar of each of the 32 variations. "I never actually looked at them," she told me.

But playing the *Goldbergs* at my house (for the second time), seven or eight years ago, she told me she would want the music in front of her, in the event she wished to consult the score on one or two variations; though she never in fact did. She was then 80, so it was for over 60 years that she carried the music in her head, that and 35 hours of other music of Bach. That performance was the last of seven she gave for me. The first, in 1975, was "a birthday present." It was recorded, and, with two later recitals at home in Connecticut, combined to produce two CDs, "great works of J. S. Bach," which still circulate. But the surprise came when in 1995 she called to ask whether I would like her to play for me and my wife and guests the program of Romantic music she would perform a week later in Buenos Aires. Her audience was flabbergasted as she went through without music an hour of Mendelssohn, Brahms, Schumann, and Debussy, music she hadn't played for 40 years, playing it now faultlessly and masterfully, from that huge repertory she carried in her head.

Four weeks ago I had a telephone call from a friend of Mme Tureck. He spoke from the hospital to tell me that she was dying and probably would live only another day, in the event I wanted to send her a farewell note, which he would take her from his e-mail. "She has just finished her autobiography and will have the manuscript sent to you

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before the weekend. But if you want to write to her you need to do it in the next half hour, because I have to go out, and she isn't expected to survive." I completed a hasty note, which, via her attentive friend, she acknowledged warmly.

"I don't know the details of your incarceration," I wrote, "not even whether there is any music at your bedside. There is, if you are interested to know, music at my bedside: the 48 [Preludes and Fugues] performed by Rosalyn Tureck. The recordings are truly sublime, and every time I experience any of it I am reminded of your incomparability. How fine to know that you have been of service to the greatest genius of all time, and how proud he'd have been to hear you perform."

She lived another eight weeks—not, really, a welcome extension of life—with the assertive cancer that killed her.

Meanwhile, I had got to the last page of her 600-page book. It ends, "I gave a talk on my eightieth birthday to the North American nations which was aired from Washington, D.C., telephoned from London, in which I spoke of my musical development, and ended with the words, 'I am still growing.' Today, almost eight years later, I still can say, with equal conviction, I am still growing." I, a mere listener, know what she meant by that, while doubting there is anywhere to grow in the art she developed in playing Sebastian Bach.

—WFB

notes & asides

■ Dear Mr. Buckley: My mother died last year at the age of 76. In her papers I found her longhand copy of a poem that caught her schoolgirl fancy sometime (I estimate) in the late 1930s.

She attributes it to the Queen's University (Belfast) student rag *Pro Tanto Quid*, but doesn't provide the name of the author.

I thought you might enjoy it.

The Grammarian's Funeral

The Grammarian said,
"I'm ill because
(To introduce an adverb clause)
The first pers. sing. is very weak,
My active voice can hardly speak,
For though I've not yet run my race,
I'm wounded (in the dative case).
A vital spot, I shall not live,
I've got a split infinitive."

And so he died, departed hence,
That is to say, he changed his tense.
Where he has gone, may we find out?
(Subjunctive mood, expressing doubt.)
They buried him at half-past eight
(Extension of the predicate),
And on his tombstone wrote this line:
Noun prop., third pers. sing., masculine.

Sincerely yours,
Antony F. P. Vickery
Lansdale, Pa.

Dear Mr. Vickery: Great fun!

Thanks, WFB

■ Dear Mr. Buckley: Horrors! Tell me that I'm wrong. Tell me I have erroneously diagnosed a case of verb-subject (dis)agreement.

In the June 2 issue, your column, "Great Words from W.," contains this sentence: "The challenge to conventional moral criteria by which the just war is defined are distinct."

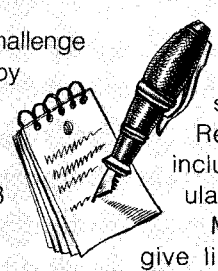
But your "are" should have been "is," which should not lead us to wonder "what the meaning of is is."

Faithfully,
James T. Lee, M.D.
Saint Paul, Minn.

Doc, nicely turned. The sentence is of course wrong.

It should have read: "The challenge to conventional moral criteria by which the just war is defined is distinct." Criteria is plural, challenge, singular.

Cordially, WFB



■ Dear Bill: My letter to the editor (NR, July 14) about the alleged influence of Ping Ferry on the Ford Foundation was not published in full.

I called attention not only to my own scholarly book on the Fund for the Republic, but also to two important and more contemporary accounts written by insiders who knew Ferry and Robert M. Hutchins even better than I did.

I'm referring to Frank K. Kelly's *Court of Reason: Robert Hutchins and the Fund for the Republic* (Free Press, 1981) and Harry S. Ashmore's *Unseasonable Truths: The Life of Robert Maynard Hutchins* (Little Brown, 1989).

They are more valuable, in my judgment, than the recent biography *Ferrytale*, co-authored by ardent leftist Victor Navasky, which exaggerates Ferry's impact on the Ford Foundation and almost everything else.

Thomas Reeves
Franksville, Wis.

Dear Tom: Thanks for the elucidation. And I look forward to your next book, whenever it comes in.

Cordially, Bill

■ Dear Mr. Buckley: I occasionally read National Review Online, your column included, and I want to congratulate you.

Most CEOs, publishers, etc., give lip service to the bromide, "hire people who are smarter than you," but you seem to take it very seriously.

Sincerely,
Dan R. Friedman
Forest Hills, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Friedman: Oh I do, and you are smart to recognize this.

Cordially,

—WFB

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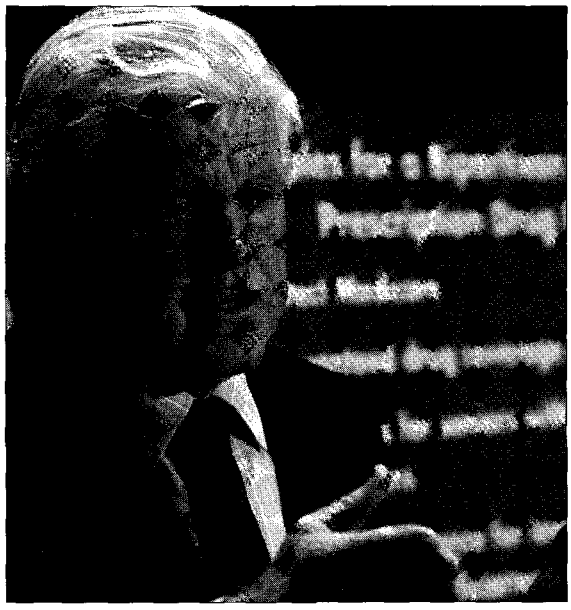

GERALD HERBERT/AP

■ PUBLIC POLICY ■

Pick Your Poison

For conservatives, the prescription-drug options are pretty distasteful

RAMESH PONNURU

"THERE'S a bet being made about the future of American health care," says a White House aide. Ted Kennedy, he explains, is betting that a new prescription-drug entitlement will, over time, expand government control of medicine. The Bush administration, on the other hand, is betting that if the new entitlement is accompanied by free-market reforms, the health-care system will move in the opposite direction.

The aide understates the case: There are lots of bets being made. House Republicans are betting that the White House and Senate Republicans won't abandon them. The White House is betting that it *can* abandon them. Senate Democrats are betting that they can threaten to filibuster a reformist bill without having their bluff called. And conservatives are trying to figure out where to place their bets: Should they assume that a bill will pass and try to improve it—or try to blow it up?

The prescription-drug bill is being written in an atmosphere of mistrust and bad faith. Most Republicans think that a new entitlement for the elderly is the last thing this country needs, given that it has no plan for financing its existing commitments to our expanding senior population. But for four years Republicans have been claiming to be in favor of covering prescription-drug costs. The idea was too popular to resist. Now they are glumly making good on the promise.

Congressional Republicans blame the White House for their predicament. They complain that Bush is not using his influence to improve the drug bill. They say he's more interested in signing a drug bill—and in being able to boast about it as he runs for reelection—than in getting a good bill. These congressmen should cast their minds back to the start of the year. In January, the news that the administration was working on a Medicare plan was leaked. Under the plan, seniors would have gotten prescription-drug coverage only if they had participated in market reforms. Congressional Republicans ran for the hills. Speaker Dennis Hastert called the proposal "inhumane." His colleagues advised the administration to stick to broad principles and leave the legislating to them. So Bush abandoned his reform proposal and stopped offering guidance. There is plenty of blame to go around.

Bush's aides are trying to sell the bill to conservatives. They argue that a drug benefit was bound to be enacted eventually, and that conservatives are lucky that both the House and Senate versions of the bill contain robust free-market reforms. They also say that the reforms can succeed even though seniors won't have to participate in them to get drug coverage. If people are offered the opportunity to keep modified versions of the health plans they had before they retired, Bush's health experts think, they will. They have faith, in other words, that the private-sector alternatives will be able to out-compete the traditional Medicare bureaucracy.

The reforms are supposed to be based on the health-benefits program for federal workers (including members of Congress), which is very popular. For many years, the Heritage Foundation, a conservative think tank, has pointed to that program as a model for health-care reform. But Heritage's experts don't think the bill before Congress—and especially the Senate version—is nearly as good as that program. The private options in the bill are too heavily restricted to work. Medicare recipients would be able to choose among only three providers, for example, instead of the dozens available to federal workers. Worse, Ted Kennedy has inserted a "fallback" provision: If the private options don't work, traditional Medicare will take over.

The House bill has a stronger private option, but it starts only in 2010: four years after the drug benefits are scheduled to kick in. This is a mistake, in the view of Heritage vice president Stuart Butler: "The sequence cannot be benefits first, reform later because that basically means there's no reform."

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House Republicans passed their bill by one vote. Paul Ryan, a GOP rep from Wisconsin, has gotten 75 of his colleagues to sign a letter saying they won't vote for final passage unless their conditions are met. Kennedy's fallback will have to go. The "health savings accounts" in the House bill—which would let individuals save, tax-free, to spend on health expenses—have to stay. Ryan is not prepared to go very far in the Senate's direction. "This bill in the House is minimally acceptable from my perspective," he says.

In the Senate, however, 37 Democrats led by Sen. Kennedy have written a letter outlining *their* conditions, which are, of course, directly opposed to those of the House Republicans: The fallback has to stay, the health accounts have to go. Kennedy has to watch his left flank. Some Democrats are upset that he is working to pass a drug bill, and thus handing Bush a victory. Kennedy argues that once the new entitlement has been in place for a while, Democrats will be able to expand it. Nancy-Ann DeParle, Clinton's Medicare director, has made the same point in arguing for Kennedy's strategy. Naturally, conservatives are horrified.

As one might expect, House Republicans and Senate Democrats have very different views of what should happen now that each chamber has passed its bill. The House Republicans are looking for the most conservative compromise possible—they want something that passes the Senate with only 51 votes. (Any more votes, and Republicans will have made too many compromises.) Kennedy has threatened to filibuster if his demands aren't met. Let him, say the House Republicans. The public will punish the Democrats for not working with the president to deliver drug benefits. "I think it's a huge loser for them if they filibuster," says Arizona Republican senator Jon Kyl.

The Senate Democrats' alternative is a compromise that sticks closely to the Senate bill. That will cause the bill to lose support among House Republicans—but House Democrats might pick up the slack if Kennedy can convince them that it's worth giving Bush a win to create a new entitlement. A Democratic bill could probably gain the support of enough liberal Republicans to pass the House. Would the White House be willing to pass a Medicare bill based mainly on Democratic votes? Rep. Ryan thinks so: "I think people assume that, if we can't get it with Republican votes, [the administration is] willing to get it with Democratic votes." They'll take a Republican bill if they can, a Democratic one if they must.

Which scenario is more likely? Senate Republican aides think Sen. Kennedy is more likely to be happy with the outcome than Rep. Ryan. The conference committee, which is supposed to iron out the differences between the House and Senate bills, includes five Senate Republicans. Bill Frist, Kyl, and Don Nickles will try to pull the bill rightward; Chuck Grassley and Orrin Hatch are eager for a bipartisan bill. That doesn't bode well for the House strategy. Kyl thinks the Congressional Budget Office is a more formidable problem. As usual, its budget projections assume the failure of Republican policies. Reform is counted as more expensive than no reform. It's because of these projections that the House bill had to delay reform until 2010. It was the only way to keep costs down.

One final obstacle to the House strategy is the purism of some conservatives, who won't vote for *any* new entitlement. It's an admirable position, but it is reducing conservatives' leverage in the negotiations over the bill. If a bill is destined to become law, Republicans should try to make it the best—or least bad—bill they can get.

Of course, it's always possible that Congress won't be able to pass anything. "Remember that in the fall of 1993 everyone thought that HillaryCare was going to whirlwhip through the Congress, and less than a year later it was cratering," says a Republican Senate aide. "The tobacco bill was supposed to whirlwhip through Congress too [in 1998]. There is a history of sure things suddenly becoming dead things around here."

Here's hoping. **NR**

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■ PUBLIC POLICY II

Introducing Pork-Barrel Homeland Security

A little here, a lot there . . .

KATE O'BEIRNE

SINCE the attacks of September 11, federal spending on assistance to the states for law enforcement, emergency services, and firefighting has increased by more than 1,000 percent. The total amount spent on beefing up the ability of "first responders" to prevent, guard against, and respond to a terrorist attack has reached almost $20 billion. With Congress in charge of dividing up the considerable pie, local authorities in all 50 states and the territories have enjoyed a slice. In typical Washington fashion, states represented by powerful members have received generous helpings. In the name of funding first responders, Congress has been responding first and foremost to its own political interests. Because Congress has responsibility for everything but takes responsibility for nothing, it is President Bush who will be held accountable if the communities most in need of federal help are not fully prepared.

Railing against the dire straits of under-funded local emergency workers has become standard fare on the Democratic presidential candidates' circuit through the states. Sen. John Kerry has a pithy term for the problem: The "preparedness gap" is the administration's biggest failing when it comes to "playing it straight on national security," Kerry told a New York audience in July. "Just as we did not have a viable plan for Iraq after the capture of Baghdad, today we still do not have a real plan and enough resources for preparedness against a terrorist attack." If the willingness to spend huge amounts of money qualifies one as a hawk on domestic defense, a flock of Democrats has out-hawked Bush.

A recent report by a Council on Foreign Relations task force—entitled "Drastically Underfunded, Dangerously Unprepared"—recommended that Congress spend $100 billion more on first responders than currently planned, while allowing that "the United States could spend the entire gross domestic product and still be unprepared, or wisely spend a limited amount and end up sufficiently prepared." Early signs are that Congress is inclined toward the first option.

In line with congressional spending as usual, it's not just the states that have been enjoying the homeland-security windfall. Last year, Puerto Rico received $32 million in domestic-preparedness grants, putting it ahead of 23 states. (This after Puerto Rico barred those other "first responders"—the U.S. Navy—from doing live-fire training at Vieques.) The U.S. Virgin Islands, American Samoa, Guam, and the Northern Mariana Islands received a total of $22 million. This year, Harold Rogers of Kentucky, the powerful chairman of the House appropriations subcommittee on homeland security, ordered the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) to include rural communities, like his own, in the development and review of all state preparedness plans. DHS was also directed to pay particular attention to the needs of emergency medical units in rural areas, and to report posthaste on the progress of the racially-sensitive "minority emergency preparedness demonstration program." A Republican congressional aide points out, "Members get no points for worrying about New York, they get points for worrying about Appalachia."

If the willingness to spend huge amounts of money qualifies one as a hawk on domestic defense, a flock of Democrats has out-hawked Bush.

USA Today recently reported on the unexpected largesse some puzzled local communities are enjoying. Christian County, Ky. (pop. 100,000), learned it was getting $36,800 in homeland-security funding for equipment that would be used to respond to a chemical, biological, or radiological emergency. The local emergency-services director no doubt doesn't want to look a gift horse in the mouth, but says that the high-tech equipment does not particularly suit the more routine needs of his small, rural community. The award of $900,000 to the Steamship Authority in Massachusetts, which runs ferries to Martha's Vineyard, had the local harbormaster confessing, "Quite honestly, I don't know what we're going to do, but you don't turn down grant money." Colchester, Vt. (pop. 18,000), now has—courtesy of federal taxpayers—a $58,000 search-and-rescue vehicle that can bore through concrete and search for victims in collapsed buildings.

"A lot of guys on both sides of the aisle only care about getting money for their districts," complains Republican representative Peter King, whose Long Island constituents include thousands of daily commuters to New York City. "I come from Nassau County, I worked with Alfonse D'Amato, I understand pork-barrel spending," he says. "But this shouldn't be the case when it comes to homeland security."

King serves on the recently established House Select Committee on Homeland Security. In Congress, 88 separate panels, committees, and subcommittees have some jurisdiction over the 22 agencies and 180,000 employees of DHS. In the hope of winning over members whose turf was threatened by the new select committee, Speaker Dennis Hastert encouraged many of them to serve on it. Nine Republican members of the committee are chairmen of other committees with jurisdiction over DHS. Whether they are prepared to put aside turf concerns will be tested by a reform proposal being pushed by the committee's chairman, Rep. Chris Cox, a California Republican.

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Cox is determined to change the formula for awarding grants to first responders by urging Congress to adopt a threat-based analysis that would allow DHS to judge which communities are most in need. Homeland Security secretary Tom Ridge supports the reform. "We are not threatened in an inchoate sense from the entire planet from all sides in all ways," Cox explained in a television interview. "There are specific threats against the United States from specific people with specific capabilities, and we need to make sure our first-response monies are directed to those threats."

On how large those monies should be, Cox disagrees with the Council on Foreign Relations task force. He thinks that it would be "exactly wrong" to commit huge, unsustainable funds to domestic security needs because he believes that the long battle ahead demands a sustainable commitment. In addition, Cox is determined to maintain terror-prevention as the first priority of both DHS and the select committee, and to develop "a very sturdy intelligence capacity at DHS." Equipping first responders is an important, but separate, concern.

It's good that Congress isn't in the business of troop deployment abroad.

It's good that Congress isn't in the business of troop deployment abroad. Otherwise, American troops would likely be spread so thinly across the globe—satisfying the individual concerns of individual congressmen—they wouldn't be in sufficient strength anywhere to protect the national interest. When domestic defense resources are deployed in Appalachia, they are not available elsewhere to prevent, guard against, or respond to an attack.

With 535 commanders-in-chief on the home front, the threat level for President Bush is elevated. **NR**

■ **AFGHANISTAN**

A Sweet Sixteen

Plenty of reasons to cheer the post-Taliban Afghanistan

S. FREDERICK STARR

It is no secret that the U.S. has its hands full in Afghanistan. Warlords masquerading as "regional leaders," criminal Islamists, heroin trafficking, and general lawlessness are but a few of the immediate challenges. And then there

Mr. Starr is chairman of the Central Asia-Caucasus Institute at the Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies of The Johns Hopkins University.

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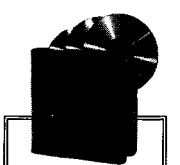

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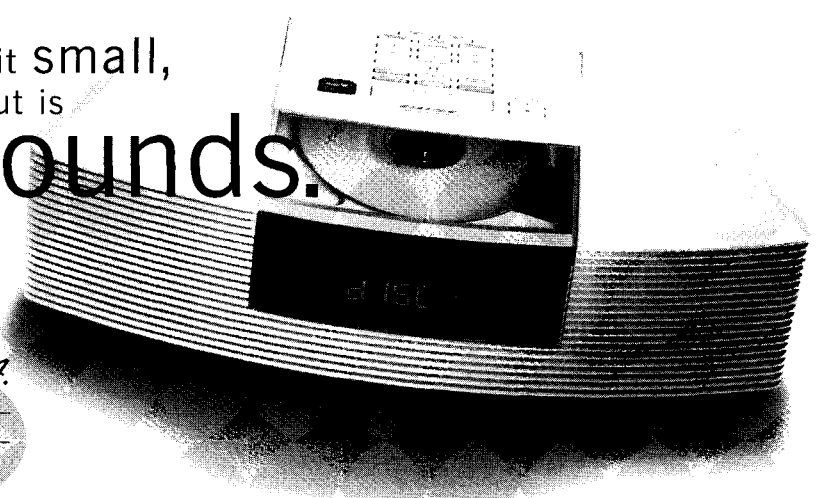

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are the longer-term realities: severe poverty, a total lack of infrastructure, etc.

Faced with all this, pundits in Europe and America have been quick to declare a U.S. failure. They view Afghanistan as a kind of quicksand, where effort only gets one stuck deeper. Ultimately, they claim, America's resolve will flag and the whole mission will come undone.

Many elements of this diagnosis are on target: Monstrous problems rise up on every side in Afghanistan, and they are not getting simpler over time. But before we declare defeat and run from the scene, it would be well to weigh the challenges against what the U.S. has accomplished over the past year and a half. Seen in perspective, the situation in Afghanistan is far more positive than the doomsayers would imagine.

For starters, the U.S. destroyed the Taliban government—and left al-Qaeda on the defensive by driving into the frontier areas of Pakistan. There is still armed resistance to the Karzai government, but it now arises from local opportunists playing on local dissatisfactions, rather than from a coherent national—let alone international—force.

Second, vigorous measures by the U.S. averted the mass famine that was universally predicted in the dry autumn of 2001. The U.N. also played an important role in preventing this disaster, but nine-tenths of its funds for humanitarian relief came from America. The same goes for the many non-governmental organizations that provided significant help, most of which operated under contracts with U.S. government agencies. Since the American government does not require that the source of support be indicated, few Afghan beneficiaries (or, for that matter, Western reporters) are aware of this.

The situation in Afghanistan is far more positive than the doomsayers would imagine.

Third, moving with astonishing speed, the U.S. managed to distribute tons of hybrid seeds to even the most remote parts of Afghanistan, immediately multiplying yields across that parched land. Given that thousands of acres of agricultural land are still riddled with land mines, this initiative not only helped provide sustainable sources of food for millions but also saved thousands from death or maiming. As the people once more become able to feed themselves through agriculture, the lure of the warlords' meager stipends will fade and village economies will revive.

Fourth, while thousands of anti-tank and anti-personnel mines still litter the land, the U.S. has destroyed 10,000 mines in Kandahar province alone, and the pace of land-mine removal has quickened recently.

Fifth, firmness at key moments by the U.S. Army prevented the eruption of the massive regional war that was so widely predicted. In a country in which 2 to 3 million people have been slaughtered over a quarter century, this is no mean achievement.

Sixth, even though Afghanistan still has no national army, the U.S. has successfully trained nine battalions of the new professional forces. And while these units are still unbalanced numerically in favor of Tajiks from the north—a problem that the U.S. is working to address—they provide the core of a professional army which, over time, will replace the warlord gangs that have controlled the field since the collapse of the old Afghan royal government. Moreover, the task of training will get easier as Afghans come to accept that a professional military is once more possible in their country.

Seventh, even though the U.S. does not provide troops for the International Security Assistance Force (the U.N.-sanctioned peacekeeping troops), it plays the key role in recruiting soldiers from many countries for that purpose, as well as in coordinating the force and providing logistical support and intelligence. The U.S. has also begun the largest program to date for police training. Germany and other countries have also contributed responsibly to this, but the U.S. commitment dwarfs the rest, as does the thoroughness of the training it offers.

Eighth, the Afghan economy cannot recover until the major highways are reconstructed. The U.S. not only spearheaded the international effort to rebuild the crucial "ring road" linking Kabul, Herat, and Kandahar—and committed far more money to that effort than any other country—it is also far ahead of all others in the actual construction work.

Ninth, with close U.S. involvement and strong U.S. support, the new Afghan government and its talented finance minister, Ashraf Ghani, successfully recalled all of the money in circulation and introduced a stable new currency that has earned confidence nationally. All arrears with the IMF have been cleared as well. Given the number of well-established governments that have found these tasks impossible, this is no mean feat.

Tenth, the U.S. provides solid backing to official Afghan efforts to hack back the mafia economy that grew up after the fall of the Taliban. Thanks in good measure to U.S. support, Afghanistan now has a development plan that is both ambitious and responsible. The so-called Ghani Plan systematically removes impediments to the operation of healthy market forces, and promises to release the entrepreneurship and trading skills for which Afghans have been renowned over the centuries.

Eleventh, confounding doubters on every side, the U.S., again working closely with the Karzai government, ensured that schools were reopened as planned in the spring of 2002. Equally important, new textbooks were efficiently printed and distributed. True, a total of some 1,000 schools need to be rebuilt, but with several hundred already reopened, America is in a good position to engage other countries and donors in this crucial project.

Twelfth, thanks mainly to the security environment provided by the United States, the Loya Jirga, or National Assembly, was held in June 2002, with the result that its 1,500 delegates overwhelmingly backed the principle of a moderate form of government for Afghanistan. This was a crucial step in legitimizing the Karzai government for the period extending down to the 2004 elections.

Thirteenth, even though Afghanistan is far from being a democracy, the country still enjoys a greater degree of openness and freedom today than at any time in decades—despite constant intimidation by local warlords. Scores of newspapers and periodicals are available (some solid, others scurrilous), and both national radio and the embryo of national television now exist.

Fourteenth, a small U.S. force assigned to protect President Karzai has enabled him to work in relative security, gradually strengthening the new government, even

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at a time when political assassinations continue to occur with alarming frequency.

Fifteenth, where formerly Afghanistan existed behind a Chinese wall of religious extremism and constant warfare, today its new national government has opened over 30 embassies abroad, the national airline is functioning again, legal trade has reopened with countries on every side, and thousands of legitimate businessmen enter and leave Afghanistan daily. This has not yet cut into the massive illegal drug trade or the widespread piracy, but over time it is bound to do so.

Sixteenth, buoyed by a new confidence engendered by the above developments, more than 2 million Afghan refugees have returned to their homes from squalid camps in Pakistan and Iran. None were compelled to do so, and all managed to find their own way back without external assistance. Besides representing a stunning vote of confidence in a peaceful future, this repatriation helps "drain the swamp" of festering discontent in the kind of refugee camps that gave rise to the Taliban in the first place.

Clearly, every one of these achievements must be qualified with "but," "although," or "in spite of." The entire effort is, as they say, a work in progress. But it is not an effort that is going nowhere, let alone one that is in reverse gear. On the contrary, these and other developments today will change Afghanistan's economic and political landscape, and eventually its psychological landscape as well.

In every case, these developments are due directly to American leadership and support. In some cases this leadership is exercised alone; in others it has involved collaboration with other countries or international agencies. In many instances the leadership comes from governmental agencies far removed from the Pentagon or State Department—whether Agriculture, Commerce, or the Treasury. In still others, it is channeled through competent non-governmental organizations in the United States and elsewhere.

It would be naïve to understate the problems that exist in Afghanistan, and dangerous to minimize the gravity of the crisis that will boil up if they are not addressed. But to deal effectively with these issues requires, among other things, a sober appreciation of the many areas where progress is in fact occurring. Such an assessment can only underscore the overriding importance of solid planning, careful implementation, judicious collaboration, and sheer tenacity in the months and years ahead.

A hunger for catastrophe has suffused many recent commentaries on Afghanistan. But while a practical acknowledgement of achievements and shortcomings alike can help ensure more effective action in the future, crisis-mongering only breeds crises. The doom-sayers are like farmers who, about this time of year, start pulling up corn to see how the roots are doing. And their dire predictions about what could go wrong in Afghanistan take little account of what we have done right. **NR**

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■ AFRICA

Big Men, Big Corruption

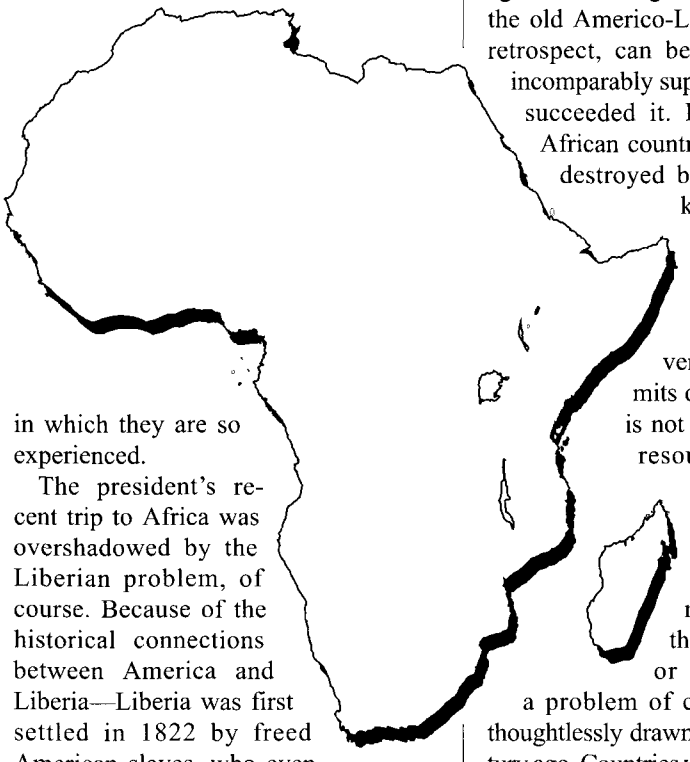
The way it's done on the (not so) dark continent

ANTHONY DANIELS

On July 14, the *Financial Times* reported that the governments of only two countries in Africa, Botswana and Uganda, had taken up the offer of the German pharmaceutical company Boehringer Ingelheim to provide free supplies to African countries of the drug nevirapine—a single dose of which, taken during labor, prevents the transmission of the HIV virus from mother to baby. This suggests, at the very least, that the concern of African governments for the health and welfare of their populations is something less than obsessive.

Not that this fact can be expected to obtrude too greatly on President Bush's plans to throw money at AIDS in Africa. As Mrs. Jellyby discovered more than a century and a half ago, there is no better way to acquire a reputation for compassion than by proposing aid for the dark continent: this, despite the fact that such aid has not always brought much in the way of enlightenment—quite the reverse. It was aid to Somalia that provided both the motive and the means for the leaders of tribal factions to keep the war of each against all going for years, until the country had been smashed utterly. It is aid that likewise keeps the war in Sudan going, and it was aid that paid for Nyerere's forced relocation of three-quarters of the rural population of his country, Tanzania. The result was an economic disaster—to which, of course, the only solution was further aid: much of which, by strange coincidence, found its way into the private accounts of the leaders of the Chama Cha Mapinduzi, the Party of the Revolution, and the rest of which was completely wasted.

One can only conclude that the African governments' lack of enthusiasm for Boehringer Ingelheim's generous offer is connected to the company's stringent conditions and attempts at control: It does not want the drug to cling to the sticky fingers of African bureaucracies en route to those who need it. President Bush's offer of $15 billion in assistance to combat AIDS, by contrast, opens up the prospect of large-scale corruption, of the type known and loved by all (or most) African governments, and in which they are so experienced.



The president's recent trip to Africa was overshadowed by the Liberian problem, of course. Because of the historical connections between America and Liberia—Liberia was first settled in 1822 by freed American slaves, who eventually became a black colonial class, overthrown in 1980 by a coup of junior officers, of whom Master-Sergeant Samuel Doe emerged as leader and kleptocrat-in-chief—America has been generally assumed to have some special responsibility for the country. And certainly it is true that the 14-year civil war that has killed nearly a tenth of the original population, and led to the displacement of a third, could have been stopped at any time by the dispatch of a handful of trained troops. Whether this fact confers a duty actually to dispatch that handful of troops is a question I leave to moral philosophers: but it is only a few years since Africans were demanding to run the continent themselves, and were generally held to be right to do so. Among the fruits of autonomy is the freedom to commit evil.

Charles Taylor, the president of Liberia, is a curious hybrid: an authentic African kleptocrat whose politically formative years were spent in the United States, where he picked up the rhetorical campus radicalism of the 1970s. Liberian students in America, among whom he was a leader, filled their minds—though not their hearts, which hid desires other than those to do good—with such rhetoric. Returning to Liberia, they then agitated to bring about the overthrow of the old Americo-Liberian order that, in retrospect, can be seen to have been incomparably superior to anything that succeeded it. Like so many other African countries, Liberia has been destroyed by a kind of utopian kleptomania; for in Africa, liberation and embezzlement go hand in hand.

The problem is a very deep one, and admits of no easy solution. It is not a question of natural resources or their lack: Countries with vast resources, such as Congo, do not have happier recent histories than those without them, such as Somalia or Ethiopia. Nor is it a problem of colonial boundaries, thoughtlessly drawn in Berlin over a century ago. Countries whose borders approximate social and ethnic realities, such as Burundi and Rwanda, have not exactly been beacons to the rest of the continent. The manifold problems of Africa could not be settled, therefore, by a little judicious redrawing of the maps—on the contrary, the Organisation of African Unity, recognizing the endless violent disputes to which such redrawing might give rise, wisely decided at its inception to accept the boundaries bequeathed by colonialism. Post-colonial Africa has had more civil wars than wars between states.

Mr. Daniels is a doctor, novelist, and journalist in England. Among his books is *Monrovia Mon Amour: A Visit to Liberia.*

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At the heart of the political and economic problems of Africa are both the weakness and the strength of the state. It is weak in the sense that it commands no respect from the population, whose loyalties and social solidarities lie elsewhere completely; but it is strong in the sense that anyone in Africa who wishes to advance in life must attain control of the state and its apparatus in order to do so. This means that political competition is fierce and brutal: In Africa, with one or two minor exceptions, the winner takes all and the loser bites the dust. African societies are simply not made for the European nation-state. The tragedy for Africa has been that the European nation-state is both necessary and inescapable in the modern era.

Despite the conventional wisdom, it was not colonialism that brought about this situation: Unless Africa could have been isolated forever from the rest of the world, it would have needed state apparatuses as intermediaries, with or without colonialism. Indeed, the process of state formation might have been very much bloodier had it not been for colonialism—that is, if Africa had been left to draw its own national boundaries. To the problems of endemic civil war would have been added those of wars between states with fluctuating borders.

But the reasons for state failure in Africa are also the reasons for much of the continent's human charm. It is simply not true that the whole of Africa is sunk in torpor, despair, famine, war, pestilence, and so forth—newsworthy as these things are and much as we delight to read of them (they make breakfast so much cozier a meal). African states do not run along impersonal, bureaucratic lines. This is because the African state corresponds to no social reality, and is therefore a state of men and not of laws. This has enormous disadvantages for political and economic development, but it would be false to say that it has no advantages whatsoever, at least in the intervals between civil war.

In Africa, a man who managed to get himself into a position of bureaucratic power would be regarded not merely as a fool if he did not enrich himself thereby, but as a bad man to boot—for he enriches himself not only for his own sake, but for that of a number of concentric social circles that radiate from him and of which he is the chief ornament: his family, his village, his tribe, and so on. What we would call an honest man would be considered a selfish or unthinking one. Anyone who has been to the home of a rich African will have realized that it is a caravanserai for people of varying degrees of social proximity to himself. He seems to hold his wealth not in a purely personal capacity, as we do in the West, but in a kind of trust for many others, to whom he has inescapable obligations. This is very inefficient from the point of view of capital accumulation, no doubt, and it certainly precludes the rule of law, but there is no denying its human quality.

Of course, it is hard luck on those excluded from riches or any relationship with "big men"—a state of affairs that can sometimes be rectified by a civil war or two, that is, a change of big men. The big man who happily puts up with distant relatives living in his household for months on end, eating his food and helping themselves to whatever they fancy, is often utterly indifferent to the beggary all around him: He may seem to us at once warmly generous and utterly unfeeling. (This is the paradox of the whole continent.) The fact is, however, that our human sympathies are always limited in one way or another, whether by race, nation, class, or—according to Professor Singer—species. It is commonly observed that a man who loves mankind in general loves no one in particular. Africans limit their sympathies in a different way from us, a way that is in many ways worse but in some ways better.

Few people in Africa have no connection or access whatever to someone richer or more powerful than themselves, and so they are rarely entirely on their own. In the absence of civil war and famine, therefore, Africa is not a slough of despond, even if it is not a haven of ever-growing industry either. To all appearances, the inhabitants of Douala or Dar es Salaam look happier than those of Geneva. As for bringing about change on the continent, it certainly lies within our power: but not necessarily for the better. **NR**

■ **POLITICS**

Jerry's Kid

I am Candidate Springer's whipping boy

JONAH GOLDBERG

If you go to Jerry Springer's website, you will see this: "Click on the image to view Jerry's message of hope and inclusion as he does battle against elitists who think Middle America is populated with 'slack-jawed yokels, hicks, weirdos, pervs, and whatnot.'"

Alas, if you were hoping Jerry Springer's "battle" with elitists might take the form of strippers fighting by proxy in creamed corn—not an unreasonable hope—you'll be disappointed. If you click on his message, all you'll find is the sort of civics lesson you might expect from a student-body vice president at a junior college, full of gobbledygook about the glories of mandatory voting and the need for health insurance and so on. But before you can say, "infomercial boring . . . losing consciousness," you discover that Jerry's battle with "elitists" is deceitfully pluralized. Because he's really only doing battle with me.

On January 26 of this year, on CNN's *Late Edition*, I noted that, since Springer has served as a one-man sprinkler system of sleaze, maybe the country could do without the Springer vote. "To me," quoth I, "this proves that voter turnout is not this glorious thing . . . because if Jerry Springer shows up, he'll bring all these new people to the polls, they will be slack-jawed yokels, hicks, weirdos, pervs, and whatnot."

In a mixture of effrontery, desperation, and the savant-like genius he has for saying stupid things with intelligent-sounding sentences, Springer somehow manages to transmogrify my comments—clearly expressed to describe

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the toothless pimps, drugged-out hookers, and other human train wrecks Springer has paraded across America's small screens—into a description of all of "middle America." But his alchemy doesn't end there. I'm not just an arrogant elitist; I also represent the entire Evil Nexus of Government and Big Media. "There is an incestuous relationship between the national media and the administration and the politicians in Washington," Springer declares. He has explained to *The New Republic*'s Michelle Cottle that he and I represent two sides of "a cultural battle in a sense: elitism versus the mass of Americans."

No longer am I a relatively obscure, quirky conservative pundit. No, according to Springer I am now without qualification the voice of both the Bush administration *and* the elite media, not to mention both houses of Congress and both sides of the aisle. In other words, all of this petty bickering about war, economics, and the culture we've been going through for the last 50—or 250—years is all a mirage, for behind the curtain all of us in Washington are united in our contempt for the Little Guy, and Jerry will not let America be crucified on a Cross of Goldberg. Springer is even selling pictures of himself in front of the "Welcome" sign outside the town of Hicksville, Ohio, with the "pervs and whatnot" quote superimposed over it.

Now, it *should* go without saying that this is all staggeringly stupid. Unfortunately, it *doesn't* go without saying—because Springer's strategy seems to be working with the national media. CNN's Miles O'Brien sympathetically asked Springer if there isn't "a little bit of arrogance" in my comments, to which Springer replied, "There's a lot of arrogance, isn't there? I mean that's the elitism. Honestly, that's the elitism which is affecting our government right now." For some inexplicable reason, O'Brien simply nodded along, never following up to ask how my comments—let alone Springer's misinterpretation of them—could possibly be construed as the prevailing view in Washington, where *every* politician pays homage to the glories of voter turnout.

Or consider MSNBC's Keith Olbermann, who said in a puff interview with Springer: "Jonah Goldberg of NATIONAL REVIEW said on CNN that you would bring 'slack-jawed yokels, hicks, weirdoes, pervs, and whatnots.' And apart from considering the source there, at what point did we stop letting yokels, hicks, weirdoes, pervs, and whatnots vote? We let Jonah Goldberg vote." Springer responded: "Well, you make a good point. But that's the elitism. That's the elitism that is part of the problem. Our government right now is very good at protecting the interests of the wealthy and the powerful. But anyone who isn't in that group, they're just not part of the equation." Blah, blah, blah.

These and other puffball interviews with Springer reveal something interesting about the media establishment in Washington. First of all, they love him, perhaps in part because he's a ratings-grabber. But more important, it helps demonstrate that Springer is in fact right that there's arrogant elitism inside the Beltway—but he shouldn't be complaining about it, because it's benefiting him. At the national level Springer's rhetoric about how he represents the little guy is taken at face value, as if from the Olympian heights of a New York or Washington studio all little guys look alike, like ants on the ground.

In Middle America, however, the average taxpaying citizen knows full well the difference between a little guy and a Springer guy. For example, according to various news reports the people of Hicksville, Ohio, were furious with Springer for suggesting that the "hicks, weirdoes, and pervs" description applied to them. "I've always thought it would be good to put Hicksville on the map, but not this way," Mayor Janis Meyer told the *Columbus Dispatch*. Village Administrator Kent Miller added: "If Springer's running for office, I don't know why he'd want to tick off 3,600 people."

Springer's spokesman Dale Butland tried to get back on message. No, no, "he's not calling them hicks," Butland said. "It's the elitists, not Jerry Springer, who think everybody in Middle America is a slack-jawed yokel hick." According to Butland, there is simply no difference between a pimp and a plumber, between a hooker and a housewife. And to say there is one makes you an elitist. Such nonsense also overlooks the fact that "Middle America" voted for George W. Bush, not for the politicians who share Springer's views. Remember that whole Red America vs. Blue America thing?

Springer might have a number of reasons for picking me to run against. First, with his astonishing ego, he might actually believe it's true that he is a uniquely qualified champion of the common man (which means he's too stupid to qualify as a senator, even a Democratic one). Second, perhaps he's trying to redeem himself for a reputation that has remained tarnished since he paid a hooker by check when he was on the Cincinnati City Council—though, since he makes no apologies for his past, it's unlikely. Third, he might think that denouncing a guy named Goldberg is a savvy move for a Jewish sleaze merchant trying to adopt a populist mantle in Middle America (especially when you note that Springer has no original public-policy ideas, and that his would-be Democratic opponent is also very liberal).

Jerry Springer

ROMAN GENN

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But the most dismaying possible explanation for Springer's decision to pick an objectively dumb strategy is that it works. Springer spent much of the last decade making millions ($6 million a year in salary) by denigrating and exploiting severely damaged people. Here are a few examples of show titles from his rich oeuvre: "Our Brother Is Our Pimp," "KKK Moms," "I Stole My 12-Year-Old's Boyfriend," "My Wife Is Sleeping with My Aunt." Springer began by mixing the outrageous with the serious, but soon realized there was more money to be made by defining the lowest common denominator to the lowest low possible. So while his show once interviewed serious people and then segued to asking homeless people what they thought of U.S. intervention in Somalia, Springer's real success came when he started staging fake marriages for dying children and asking viewers to help find a truck-stop hooker's lost teeth (last seen on the dashboard of a john's car). At the end of every show he'd offer some "final thoughts" in order to splash the veneer of respectability on a freak show that asked viewers to laugh at fat strippers and celebrate the loss of shame as a socially useful development.

In other words, the media's old détente in the culture war has been broken. It was once a rule that liberals would "defend to the death" the right of execrable people to say whatever they wanted, but would stop short of actually approving of it. But ever since the Lewinsky scandal, the national media have decided that it is inappropriate to judge anybody, ever, on so-called lifestyle issues (unless those issues prove conservative hypocrisy). Larry Flynt became a hero; *George* magazine even invited him to the White House Correspondents Dinner. We all once would have agreed that Jerry Springer had every right to be rich and famous—but also that such "success" would come at the cost of social approval. That his bid for the Senate is being taken more seriously, and with more respect, than the objections to it is a sign that at the national level it is no longer considered acceptable that there be any deleterious consequences whatsoever for one's choices.

Fortunately, the folks of Hicksville, Ohio, still have the right to judge people at the ballot box. **NR**

■ **CULTURE WATCH**

Take Your Boxes and . . .

A nation of race rebels?

JAY NORDLINGER

When the *Michigan* decisions were handed down—the ones that upheld affirmative action—many Americans underwent a bout of race-pondering. Of course, race is never far from our eyes: It's on our forms, for one thing. When applying to college, for a marriage license, for a loan: There are those boxes, demanding that we check White, African-American, Aleut, what have you.

A lot of Americans don't like this very much—and not all of them are lily-white. Ward Connerly, remember, is the force behind the Racial Privacy Initiative in California. This is the measure that would prevent governmental bodies from classifying individuals by race (with some prudent exceptions). Connerly wrote a piece for NATIONAL REVIEW on this subject titled "Don't Box Me In"—a phrase that captured the restless desire of many people to get free of color, to the extent possible. The magazine ran a cartoon with the piece that had a woman filling out a form and asking, "Can't I just check 'American'?" (The answer, madam, is no.) The ACLU has attacked Connerly's initiative as—natch—"racist." Thus is black white and white black (so to speak).

Shortly after the *Michigan* decisions, we at NATIONAL REVIEW ran a piece on our website decrying the Court's action and wondering what to do about it. Was a little rebellion in order? Should we meekly comply with these racial checkboxes? When facing the little devils, white people tend to think they're about to get the shaft. And those from approved minorities may feel a related anxiety: "Sure, I want to get in, or get the job, or get the loan—but this way? How can I know?"

Letters poured in from readers of the site, each with a story, or a fear, or a grievance—or some clever suggestion. Together, they showed a nation (or a slice of a nation) mightily sick of the race game, and the steady South Africanization of American life, where blood and shade hold stubborn sway.

One man said, "What would happen to affirmative-action programs if a significant portion of college applicants intentionally misreported their races? Even if most applications were marked correctly, a little civil disobedience could introduce a large enough margin of error to bring out the pure intellectual chaos and moral repugnance of affirmative action. Think about it: Schools would be forced to confirm, visually, the race of every applicant who claimed to be a minority. The explicit process of racial classification, the naked barbarity of the data collection: This would render affirmative action politically indefensible. What dean of admissions wouldn't be uncomfortable in front of Fox News cameras turning away a previously accepted student on the first day of class because he or she had the incorrect pigmentation?"

An intriguing question, more broadly: To what lengths would admissions offices go to verify the race or ethnicity of an applicant? How anthropological would they get? Would there be a medical unit at the ready, prepared to examine blood and assess DNA?

The letters we received clearly show that many white students feel themselves kept out of universities because of their damning skin—in other words, their "privilege" makes them unprivileged. They say, "I had these glittering credentials, including an A average, top test scores, and a trunkful of prizes. And my counselor said, 'Don't tell anyone, but if you could mark another race box, you could get in anywhere.'" Of course, this may be nonsense: but, again, how does one know? This is one of the effects of the system, raising suspicions in people of all colors. It creates martyrs and victims even when they should not exist. Whether this is good for societal harmony is easily answered.

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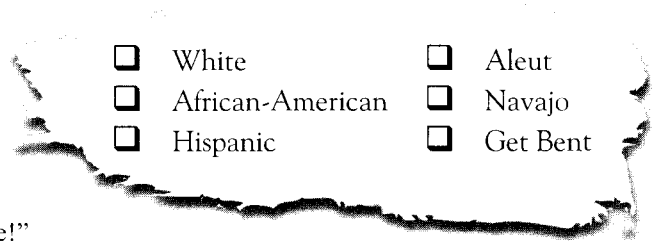
Some people simply "decide to become a minority," by hook or crook. Everyone has a favorite tale to tell. I knew a girl in college—a pretty white girl from Minnesota who played golf—who received a scholarship for being an Indian. If she was an Indian, so is Annika Sorenstam, let me tell you. One young writer to NR was also planning on claiming a misty Indian ancestry: "If there has to be a bias, I want it in my favor." Other palefaces are discovering an African-American on some limb of the family tree. This may confer a whole new meaning on "passing."

A great many people answer "human" when asked about their race. Said a reader, "A pollster phoned me, and after we waded through sex, age, and income, she asked me about race. When I answered 'human,' she said, quick as a flash, 'Thank you, we already have enough data on that group.'" Another reader urged a national campaign to induce Americans to enter "human" on all the various forms: "We can have a website—www.OnlyHuman.org. This could be huge, man. Huge!"



Evolution-minded readers suggested that everyone record "African-American" on grounds that we all originate at Olduvai Gorge, or wherever. In other words, each of us is a descendant of Lucy (the famous skeleton, not the flame-haired comedic actress). Other people have their own dodges: "I always answer 'Black Irish.'" Some Jews are especially flummoxed. One man informed us, "My father, of blessed memory, was not enough of a white European to get into Cornell. My son may be too much of a white European to get into Cornell." Another man wrote—responding to a point about who qualifies as a minority—"When I found out that Jews were no longer a minority, I had my first good night's sleep in 2,000 years!"

Many correspondents wished to say that, although they could benefit from a convenient check in a winning box—having a pleasingly Spanish name, for example—they have refused, finding such favoritism distasteful, contrary to their view of America, and a little dishonest. ("There is nothing 'Hispanic' about us! We don't even like beans!")

What about getting hitched? Do race and marriage go together like a horse and carriage? "Jay, I found myself thinking of you and Ward Connerly while my fiancé and I were filling out a marriage-license application at the Milwaukee County Courthouse." (Who doesn't think of Ward Connerly and me when applying for a marriage license?) "Down at the bottom of the form were boxes to indicate the race or races of the intendeds. I looked at my fiancé and said, 'Hey, shall we leave this blank?' 'Yeah,' he responded, 'it's none of their business anyway.' So, with a tingle of excitement at our rebellion, we turned in our form."

But The Man stood in the way: "Upon being asked why the boxes were blank, we responded that we preferred not to answer that question. Of course, we were promptly informed that the State of Wisconsin will not issue a marriage license without recording the race(s) of the two people to be married. Not being in a position to move out of state, we abjectly complied, as people usually do when they are up against robotic bureaucrats. So, that was that. But we tried!"

Many readers brought up the problem of their mixed-race children: how to declare them (or whether to declare them, racially). "Do we make the system work for us, feeling like hypocrites and cheats, or do we stick to our principles, asserting ourselves as Americans?"

A man from Hawaii said, "Upon the birth of our daughter last year, the state sent the forms necessary to acquire a birth certificate. When I, as the father, was asked for my race, I did what I always do: check the box that says Other and write 'human.' A week later, a very serious-looking letter arrived, informing me that 'human' was not a race recognized by the State of Hawaii. I was warned that, unless the form were completed properly, my daughter's birth certificate would list the father's race as 'unknown.' So it reads, forever more. I am pleased with my little act of civil disobedience, and look forward to explaining it to my daughter when she is old enough to ask. (My wife, however, is not so pleased with the implication . . .)"

Of particular poignancy was this: "What about those of us who are adopted and don't know our race? Without boring you with the details, I was born to an unmarried woman in Germany and it's clear I am not exclusively of one race. Yet since I am adopted and the birth certificate doesn't name a father (and I have never searched for either biological parent), I will never know what race I am. Surely there must be some legislation before Congress enabling me to identify myself properly and thereby regain my self-esteem. If the government is going to continue to make race an issue, then there must be a commission formed to study the suffering of folks like me who were racially neutered. I am a man without racial identity and I need a telethon or something."

Finally, I would like to introduce you to a mortgage broker you may appreciate knowing. He works at home, taking clients' applications by phone. He has the habit of checking Other and filling in "American" when race is demanded (as it always is, on the standard form). "I have fought many a battle with dimwitted yet determined underwriters who insist that I must check something more 'accurate.' When I point out to them that I take applications over the phone and can't possibly know the races of my borrowers, I am repeatedly told that I should make guesses, based on the sound of my clients' voices. If this weren't true, it would be hilarious."

There is much hilarity in these letters (and, gathered together, they would make an instructive compendium). But the subject is depressingly serious. Our governmental institutions may get *more* race-crazy, not less. But perhaps we are building a nation of race rebels, refusing to play along. One letter we received had a signature and then, in parentheses—simply as a statement— "Race Withheld."

That's the spirit. **NR**

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California, Here They Come (and Come)

E pluribus unum is losing to *La Raza*

VICTOR DAVIS HANSON

SOMETIME in the last 30 years, we in California gave up on confronting the flood of illegal immigration from Mexico, even as an equally exasperated federal government abdicated its responsibility to control our borders. Now we just shrug at perhaps 10 million illegal immigrants, and let forces larger than ourselves govern our destiny. We remain vaguely aware that one of the world's richest economies is adjacent to one of the poorest—and that chaos sooner or later will result.

For most of the first two centuries of this country's history, we were not so passive nor so naïve. Americans felt that newcomers did not need to be taught in their own language in our schools. Indeed, even the most recent trend in American popular culture has been a slow movement away from, rather than toward, racial awareness. Yet we encourage children of Mexican immigrants—desperately in need of immersion in the English language and U.S. history—to enroll in special classes in ethnic pride, and welcome such chauvinism as segregated graduation ceremonies and college dorms predicated on race. Not so long ago, the very idea that a national lobbying group would call itself "The Race" (*La Raza*), in the manner of the old German racialist concept of *Volk*, would have seemed absurd, if not repugnant—because immigrants used to come from Mexico largely in the same manner as everyone else: which is to say, legally, and in numbers that did not overwhelm our powers of assimilation or encourage perpetual demagoguery.

We citizens are surely complicit. Here in California we have apartheid communities of exclusively first-generation and illegal immigrants from Mexico who work in the shadows as modern-day helots, yet are not integrated into the civic life of our state in any meaningful way. Millions of Californians who used to cut their own lawns, clean their own toilets, pick their own fruit, and pour their own concrete have now abdicated these tasks to a pool of millions of low-cost industrious laborers—with insidious consequences.

The upper middle class has embraced as its birthright the culture and leisure once confined to an aristocratic elite: nannies, gardeners, and housecleaners. So-called dead-end jobs in agriculture, the service industry, and construction are no longer seen as rites of passage for our youth, but deemed proper only for an entire class of laborers from Mexico, whose toil, we are assured, keeps our restaurants, food, and hotels inexpensive and our prices low. How else can we explain why the local Farm Bureau every summer warns of a shortage of pickers, cries out for guest workers from Mexico, and colludes with Hispanic activists for open borders—even as teenagers a few miles away from unpicked orchards and vineyards idle and hang in the tens of thousands at our air-conditioned malls?

ABSURDISTAN ON THE WEST COAST

Welcome to the present surreal world of illegal immigration. Unemployment is high and rising in California, but we are told that even more workers from Mexico are needed. Apparently, sometime around 1980, the free market stopped being able to attract legal American employees through rising wages; about the same time, our legal system gave up as well. Now an entire alternative universe of jurisprudence is emerging to mitigate the effects of rampant illegality. Libertarians who champion the employers' entitlement to hire whomever they choose assure us that Mexican immigration over the long term poses no more challenge than 19th-century Italian immigration did—as if

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multiculturalism had existed in 19th-century schools, government services had been replicated in Italian, we had shared an open border with Italy, and immigrants from Sicily had come here unlawfully and in the millions every year to ensure perpetual first-generation families.

Instead, we are all becoming traffickers in human capital, shying away from the hard truth that our actions perpetuate a very cynical cycle. Young men (*solos*) at great peril sneak in from Oaxaca. Most work terribly hard for 30 years at roofing, picking, mowing, cleaning, or cooking. And then a great many, disabled and unemployed by age 50—without legal status or English—often turn to state entitlement agencies when their back is out, their job has dried up, or their knees are no longer limber.

Yet their Americanized children of the barrio often grow up without the stern family ethic of Mexico. Much less are they impressed by the employers' old tossed bone that "at least you are better paid than in Mexico": Many of the second generation have never seen Mexico. Instead, too many are understandably resentful that their hard-working—but poorly paid and often uneducated—parents won no riches from their brutal decades of struggle for others more affluent. Four of ten Hispanics are not graduating from high school. One in ten currently has a bachelor's degree. In reaction, employers of physical labor claim to be disappointed that this second generation does not toil as hard and as cheaply as their parents did. So they ignore underrepresentation at college and overrepresentation in our vast legal system, and welcome in a new cohort of undocumented teenagers to renew this amoral cycle.

Objective data cannot tell us whether a front-line state like California is saved or lost because of illegal immigration. Left-leaning economists swear that immigrants to America bring in $25 billion in net revenue per annum. Yet more skeptical statisticians employ different models to reach the radically different conclusion that aliens cost the U.S. over $40 billion a year—and that in California each illegal immigrant will take from the state $50,000 more in services than he will contribute in taxes during his lifetime. Who can sort out all the wild-card effects of cash income, undocumented residents, fraudulent Social Security numbers, and politicized research?

A far greater moral problem looms a mere decade from now, when the aging white and Asian population of the baby-boom generation finally—and nearly all at once—reaches retirement. Influential, affluent, informed, and not shy about self-interest or self-promotion, it will demand that Social Security and state retirement programs remain funded at promised levels. But in places like California these benefits will remain possible only with a complacent majority population of mostly younger Hispanics with larger families, often working for less in wages than will go to aged whites in retirement with no dependents. It will be a strange sight: the 1960s generation of California elites in their seventies, on the golf course or in their Winnebagos, drawing Social Security in aggregate amounts greater than what they contributed, and using that annuity as pocket money to supplement their private retirements and savings—as long as the groundskeepers and waitresses keep working to pay hundreds of dollars per month in deductions that might otherwise have gone to support their five or six dependents.

While Republican and Democratic leaders cringe at this prospect, they avoid an honest discussion of cross-border traffic. They are unsure of the volatile public's mood on any given day—whether Californians of all heritages will finally say no more, or those who are even part Mexican or married to Mexican-Americans will vent their wrath at the polls against advocates of closed borders. The two parties ignore the social chaos of millions of illegal aliens for other reasons too: Employers count on profits from plentiful, cheap workers, and activists think they can find in these laborers future liberal voters who, as an unassimilated constituency, will vote en masse for representatives like themselves.

We are all becoming traffickers in human capital, shying away from the hard truth that our actions perpetuate a very cynical cycle.

Political ironies abound. The pro-labor Left is salivating over a larger bloc vote. But it also is slowly discovering that the wages of its own impoverished constituency are eroded by less expensive and more industrious alien workers: The Labor Department recently attributed 50 percent of labor's losses in real wages to the influx of cheap immigrant workers. It can't be easy for progressive unions to be eager for imported labor from Mexico when millions of second-generation Mexican-American and African-American laborers are making not much above the minimum wage.

Perplexed liberals of northern California are in a special dilemma. Committed to a multicultural agenda that does not "privilege" any particular heritage and—in theory—supports giving the world's poor nearly unlimited access to America, they nevertheless are also keen environmentalists and supporters of population control. A San Francisco-area Sierra Club member with one or two children who drives a fuel-efficient Volvo or small Toyota, loves to backpack, and fights for the state's shrinking open spaces cannot help being worried over news that California is destined to grow to 50 to 60 million souls in just 20 years—almost all of that increase the result of either illegal immigration or the larger families of first-generation Hispanics. The liberal suburbanite sees that all his careful efforts at recycling his trash, voting to stop power-plant construction, and trying to ban internal-combustion engines butt up against the real needs of millions of the desperate from rural Mexico who instead want first the warmth of four walls, a flush toilet, and basic appliances. From just staying alive while crossing the border, to enjoying the bounty of K-Mart and Burger

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King, to evolving into a member of the Nature Conservancy and the Sierra Club—this is a task requiring more than a generation.

California's conservatives are in no better shape. In theory, they advocate open borders, and the idea that capital flow, not centralized government, adjudicates who comes and who goes. Again in principle, they prefer the right of a small businessman to choose who works for him—the cheaper they are and the less hassle they involve, the better. But in reality, our larger conservative and corporate establishment sighs when it sees thousands of California residents cheering wildly for Mexico to beat the U.S. in the World Cup, while aliens stream across the border to use hospitals whose expenses must be picked up by a bankrupt state. And the motel owner who relies on just such immigrants for her daily housekeeping still does not like gang shootings perpetually on the nightly news, stories about labor vans with wooden benches flipping over and killing ten or so per accident, or the fact that she is being taxed for new prisons. So—like their Sierra Club counterparts—the conservatives might be rethinking their traditional political orthodoxy that once committed them to open borders. That they have no consistent ideology, and are sometimes abjectly hypocritical in their hiring of illegal aliens and simultaneous support for immigration reform, in no way diminishes their volatility or angst.

THE POLITICS OF UPHEAVAL

National polls taken even before 9/11 showed that over 70 percent of Americans wanted immigration reduced; nearly 90 percent reported that they would insist on English as the official language of the U.S. The conversation has shifted markedly to the right: Topics that only two or three years ago would have resided outside mainstream discussion—sending troops to the border or summarily deporting illegal residents—have become the stuff of evening-news debates.

Californians are especially restive on these issues—and we have much to be restive about. California today extends in-state university-tuition discounts to its resident unlawful immigrants, even as we charge over double that amount for American citizens from out of state. Our legislature has passed laws providing the unlawful with California driver's licenses. We may soon discover that an age-old rite of passage, in which citizens produce their birth certificates as proof of age at the Department of Motor Vehicles, has been rendered absurd: Americans will need government documentation, but foreigners here illegally will not—for the same services. We ponder honoring ID cards from Mexico (alone among foreign countries) as legal American identification—even as we read of endemic corruption among police and bureaucrats across the border, and cries from other South American countries for the same exemption.

Because elected state representatives are understandably risk-averse, ballot propositions—championed by unelected partisans, and enacted through popular vote rather than legislative debate—are the most common forum for expressions of the growing discontent. The word "racist" is thrown around promiscuously, to foreclose debate; in response, embittered Californians give approval to therapeutic measures in their schools and state agencies—and then quietly vent their rage at the polls, by voting against what they see as special favors to immigrants who broke the law in coming here. It is not a very healthy thing to have a voting population of millions thinking privately what they would never express publicly; in such a climate, demagogues on left and right gird for action.

Meanwhile, illegal immigration continues unabated—protected by the strange alliance of the power and influence of employers with the rhetoric and threats of the race industry. Yet we have to face the question honestly: What kind of future do we really want? We know that measured, legal immigration, in a system combining the old-fashioned assimilation of the past with the new power of popular culture and intermarriage, would eventually do wonders for everyone involved. Some of California's finest and most successful citizens are second- and third-generation Mexican-Americans whose parents were legal citizens and insisted upon integration and assimilation for their children rather than separatism. With properly monitored borders, the Mexican government could no longer export potential dissidents—many of them Indians from the hinterland subject to abject racism and exploitation—but would be forced to embrace real political and economic reform. Our own underclass in poorly paid jobs would begin to gain some clout with employers, and perhaps the minimum wage could rise to restore its eroding buying power. With a strong—and enforced—immigration policy, we could ensure that our post–9/11 borders are secure. And other immigrant groups clamoring for similar dispensations could appreciate at last that legality and following the rules are appreciated rather than punished.

We need not do everything right, but simply return to what we used to do so well: insist that immigration be measured and legal.

Is there still a chance that we might avoid the separatist nightmare of the Balkans? Perhaps. After all, we got into our present mess only during the last 30 years, and then only by doing almost everything wrong. Thus we need not do everything right, but simply return to what we used to do so well: insist that immigration be measured and legal, do more of our own unpleasant work, enforce all our laws, drop the ideology of "The Race," and envision us all as just ordinary individuals and Americans, not as specialized groups and separate races. In the present climate we may find such time-honored solutions hurtful or simplistic, but they reflect a confidence in American culture—a confidence similar to that which prompted immigrants from Mexico and elsewhere to come here rather than us to go there. Let's make that act of faith. **NR**

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■ SAUDI ARABIA

Saudi Kidnapping: Enough

Since State won't deal with it, Justice must

WILLIAM MCGURN

Is there an Arabic word for "chutzpah"? I ask because Saudis might find it odd to use a Yiddish term in characterizing the most self-consciously Islamic regime in the world.

For nearly two decades, the House of Saud has unblinkingly abetted and protected Saudi men who kidnap American children to Saudi Arabia and keep them there against their will. And the monarchy doesn't limit its reach to children. Many an American woman has discovered—the hard way—that Saudi Arabia is the only place in the world where an adult American female accused of no crime cannot leave without the written permission of the ranking male in her life, usually a husband but sometimes a father.

Soon, the frantic, left-behind American mother gets a call from Riyadh from her ex-husband, confirming the worst: Her children are in Saudi Arabia, and she's never going to see them again. (Sometimes the husband adds charming details. In the case of Sarah Saga—held captive in Saudi Arabia from the age of six after what should have been a one-week visit in 1985—her father told her American mother that he would slit their daughter's throat before he'd see her go back to the States.) Having just had her children ripped from her home, the American mother turns to the government for relief—at which point an officer from the State Department listens sympathetically and then informs her about the limits of what America can do under Saudi law.

The Saudis suffer no such scruples. Their priorities are Saudi law and Saudi interests, and they insist on them even in the most implausible circumstances. Take the response of Prince Nayef, Saudi Arabia's interior minister, when U.S. troops captured a bunch of Saudi nationals hanging out with the Taliban during the Afghan war and put them in Guantanamo Bay. The prince told the *Arab News* that his government "would demand that the Saudi detainees be handed over, because they are subject to the Kingdom's rules." Note the claim that even when Saudis are outside their national borders they ought to be subject to Saudi rules.

When two American mothers sought refuge with their children at our Jeddah consulate in late May and early June, the Saudi foreign ministry's response was similarly unequivocal. The children of these women, the ministry conceded, might be Americans—but they were also Saudis, and "the Saudi government has the duty to take all necessary measures to protect the rights of its citizens." More recently, Adel al-Jubeir, the urbane face of Saudi Arabia on the American talk-show circuit, confirmed to *U.S. News & World Report* that *of course* his government was picking up the legal tab for Saudis arrested in the U.S. on suspicion of terrorist ties; the Kingdom pays all the legal bills of subjects who find themselves detained abroad. The phrase "under American law" never crosses Saudi lips when they discuss their obligations to their own people. State could learn a thing or two from the Saudis.

> The House of Saud has unblinkingly abetted and protected Saudi men who kidnap American children to Saudi Arabia and keep them there against their will.

Typically, the story goes as follows: A Saudi comes to the U.S. to work or to study; boy soon meets girl, and the two marry in an American wedding; later, they divorce, also in America, and the custody of their children is decided in an American court (which, unlike Saudi courts, are more than fair to foreign parents); the Saudi man decides he no longer likes American law and so either refuses to return his children after a custody visit in Saudi Arabia or simply kidnaps them there himself; sometimes the father does this even after a judge has explicitly warned Saudi embassy officials that the children are not to leave the U.S. and that the embassy must not issue Saudi passports to get them out.

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PRESSURE, THEN PLEDGES, THEN . . . PROGRESS?

For years, most Americans knew nothing about the plight of their fellow citizens, especially women and children, in Saudi Arabia. That all changed when tough hearings in the House—convened by Indiana Republican Dan Burton—coupled with, I am proud to say, extended coverage in the editorial columns of the *Wall Street Journal* forced this outrage onto the national stage. Even Prince Bandar, a close friend of the Bush family, was scolded by the president during a visit to Crawford; according to

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Ari Fleischer, Bush complained that the Saudis simply were not doing enough to allow Americans to leave Saudi Arabia.

Along the way we've learned some stunning details. For example, that the State Department didn't even know how many American women or children were in this predicament. We also learned about Monica Stowers, an American woman who in 1990 sought refuge at the embassy in Riyadh with her young son and daughter, whereupon she was curtly informed that the embassy was "not a hotel" and was escorted out, with her children, by U.S. Marines. We learned that, in most cases, our government had not even demanded the freedom of these Americans. We also learned that the State Department considered these cases mere "private custody disputes" instead of what they really are: government-backed affronts to U.S. law and sovereignty.

It was a nasty business, and for years the most hated woman in both the State and Saudi camps had to be Pat Roush. When Roush's two children were kidnapped by her Saudi ex-husband, she refused to let anyone write her girls off and did more than anyone else to keep the issue alive. Even as the undeniable cases accumulated, Prince Bandar simply denied that they existed. In a letter to the *Journal* that swiftly came back to haunt him, the Saudi ambassador asserted that it was "absolutely not true" that "Saudi Arabia is holding Americans against their will." Just about that time, *60 Minutes* broadcast a special about one of those Americans whom Prince Bandar said didn't exist. Sixteen-year-old Maha al-Rehaili, who escaped the Kingdom during a family holiday to Malaysia, was filmed saying that she would rather kill herself than go back to Saudi Arabia.

Still, the outside pressure did elicit two promises, which have since opened up a crack in the hitherto inviolable Saudi wall. The first came during a 2002 meeting with American ambassador Robert Jordan in Riyadh, where Jordan vowed to a visiting Burton delegation that no American woman seeking refuge in one of our embassies or consulates there would be turned away under his watch. (He has been as good as his word.) The other promise came shortly thereafter, to the same delegation on the same trip. This time, however, it came from the Saudi side. Prince Saud al-Faisal, the country's foreign minister, promised that henceforth any adult American woman who asked for permission to leave would be given it.

The encouraging news here is that these promises, limited though they may be, have now translated into real freedom for Americans. I have mentioned two American mothers who made a run for the Jeddah consulate with their children. One was Sarah Saga—now 24 and a mother of two—the first woman to seek refuge in a U.S. diplomatic mission and actually succeed in getting out. When this young woman touched down in Fresno in June, it was into the arms of an American mother who had been forced to wait 18 years for that embrace.

EVERY CHILD LEFT BEHIND

As welcome as Sarah's deliverance has been, her case also underscores the dismal status quo. Taken to Saudi Arabia at age six and kept there in defiance of a U.S. custody order, she soon found herself cut off from her American family. But even in Saudi Arabia, Sarah never forgot, and a few years ago used the Internet to track down her grandparents in the Bay Area and, through them, her mother in Fresno. The two women began calling each other surreptitiously, and when they learned about Ambassador Jordan's promise, they made a plan: Sarah would make a dash for the Jeddah consulate with her two children.

Here's where the much-heralded progress shows its limits. During July hearings in the House, the State Department's Maura Harty noted that the Saudis have assured State that American women can now leave the Kingdom. But those assurances mean little. Why? First, because even asking for permission to leave is fraught with risks. Some American women are terrified to contact the U.S. embassy lest their husbands find out. (A cursory glance at the wife-beating references in the State Department's human-rights report on Saudi Arabia confirms such fears.) Furthermore, Saudi women are not allowed to drive or do many of the other things that Americans take for granted. Sarah Saga had to put off her escape until she could finagle a ride to a restaurant close to the consulate without arousing suspicion.

Moreover, behind Saudi Arabia's alleged new spirit of cooperation lurks the greatest deterrent to progress: the Kingdom's ugly insistence that any mother who wants out must leave her children behind. This is a pretty effective way to keep most mothers hostage. The woman who sought refuge in the Jeddah consulate just before Sarah Saga ultimately despaired of leaving when she realized the Saudis would never allow her three kids, two of them U.S.-born, to leave with her. The only reason Saga agreed to leave without her children is that she feared her father would kill her if she remained in Saudi Arabia.

There is a political noose being prepared for the president. Last year every woman

The most hated woman in the State and Saudi camps: Patricia Roush

JOYCE NALTCHAYAN/AFP

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senator signed a letter to Bush on this issue written by Arkansas Democrat Blanche Lincoln. During the recently concluded House hearings, Democratic representative Diane Watson—a former ambassador herself—peppered Maura Harty with questions about how wholeheartedly her department was really pressing Riyadh. Democratic senators Chuck Schumer and Bob Graham have already attacked Bush for being too cozy with Saudi Arabia and turning a blind eye to the Kingdom's misdeeds. How soon before Democrats capitalize on the gender dimension to this story and accuse the Bush administration of being indifferent to the plight of women—of placing the freedom of American women at the mercy of a medieval monarchy because Prince Bandar counts the Bushes and Powells as chums?

The Saudis know that time works to their advantage here. It is glorious that Sarah Saga has tasted freedom. But that doesn't mean much to, say, Heidi Al-Omary, an eleven-year-old kidnapped to Saudi Arabia by her father and now perilously close to the age where she can be married off. Or to the American woman who was told by the Saudi embassy that she would never see her child—kidnapped only this year—again if she went public. Or to the two siblings of Maha al-Rehaili, the 16-year-old who escaped the Kingdom while in Malaysia. Or to the other Americans whom we don't even know about because they are not on anyone's list.

So what's the solution? Right now there are a number of ad hoc proposals to do what State has never done: impose consequences on the Saudis for outrages against Americans. These include an amendment to the State Department authorization bill that would allow Foggy Bottom to cut off the visas for the extended family members and employers of any Saudis complicit in these crimes. That's a good start, but inasmuch as it is Saudi law—and not individual Saudis—that is responsible for ongoing injustices, what we need to do is to tie the issuance of *all* Saudi visas (not to mention the scheduled release of Saudis from Gitmo) to the freedom of these Americans.

In the end, the only real solution is to put a stop to the years of hearings about State's mishandling of child abduction and simply place the portfolio where it belongs: with the Justice Department. The villain here is not Maura Harty or the Foreign Service officers in our embassies, but the diplomatic and institutional incentives that will always subordinate the plight of ordinary Americans to "real" foreign policy—which in Saudi Arabia's case runs the gamut from oil to the war on terror. The culture of State will always lean toward getting along with peers overseas, and there are few professional rewards for making a stink or taking an action that brings an American home. Surely the Justice Department is more likely to take an aggressive approach to enforcing individual Americans' rights abroad.

If we have learned anything since September 11, it is that all Americans become vulnerable when we send the signal that others can molest our citizens abroad without repercussions. It's probably too much to expect a return to the days when Theodore Roosevelt issued the ultimatum "Perdicaris alive or Raisuli dead" after an American of Greek extraction had been taken hostage by a bandit chieftain in Tangier. But we would improve our approach immeasurably if we could get State to stop prefacing every statement with the words "under Saudi law." **NR**

■ **POLITICS II**

Not To Be Confused with Coolidge

Howard Dean as governor of Vermont

JIM GERAGHTY

WHEN asked about his eleven-year reign as Vermont's governor, Howard Dean likes to paint himself as a maverick who boldly fought for principles and unified his state on a platform of fiscal responsibility and social tolerance. Many Vermonters remember him differently. In fact, when you ask them about Dean, you hear the same words again and again: "Talented politician." "Clever politician." "He goes for a political opening when he sees it." A review of Dean's record reveals a slew of controversial stands, on such issues as public-land purchases, state spending, civil unions for gays and lesbians, and health insurance for poor families. Dean handled each of those issues differently, but he always kept his eye on one bottom line: maximizing his popularity and political power. "He didn't fall off the turnip truck yesterday," says Libby Sternberg, executive director of Vermonters for Better Education, a frequent opponent of the former governor on school-choice issues. "I don't think he should be underestimated in terms of strategy."

On the campaign trail, Dean touts his record as a budget cutter, bragging that liberals "hated him" for his fiscal conservatism. Actually, Vermont Republicans say a plan devised by Dean's predecessor deserves much of the credit for shrinking their state's deficit—and that Dean's firm grip on state spending loosened considerably in his later terms. Dean was lieutenant governor when Gov. Richard Snelling, a Republican, died in August 1991. At that time, the state was facing a $65 million budget deficit. Dean surprised some state Democrats by keeping Snelling's budget and spending-reduction plan in place, but he also extended some of his predecessor's temporary tax hikes. He allowed a hike in the top income-tax rate to sunset, but asked the legislature to extend temporary increases in the sales tax, and to keep the meals tax and the 9 percent tax on hotel rooms.

"The big challenge in the early '90s was to get rid of that

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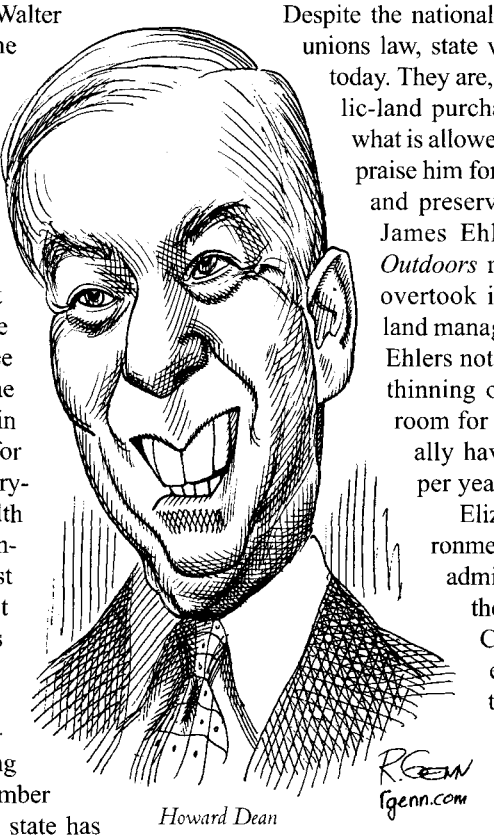
deficit, and I give Dean credit for sticking with it," says Jim Barnett, chairman of the Vermont Republican party. "But the farther you get from Snelling, the less fiscal conservatism you see. And every governor in the nation had balanced budgets in the '90s. Surpluses were nothing particularly impressive when the economy was growing." *USA Today* reported that Vermont's state spending was 51.7 percent higher in 2002 than it had been in 1997. The state's population growth and inflation accounted only for 18.1 percent; the rest was new spending.

Much of that spending came from Dean's expansion of state health-care programs—policy changes that are a frequent Dean talking point on the campaign trail. "Howard Dean is going to campaign on his legacy in health care," says Walter Freed, Vermont's Republican speaker of the house. "What his legacy has left us is the greatest entitlement program in the nation, and completely underfunded." Snelling's predecessor, Madeline Kunin, had established "Dr. Dynasaur," a health-insurance program aimed at covering kids up to the age of six. Dean expanded the program—originally intended to cover the very poorest children—to cover young people up to the age of 18 in families with incomes as much as three times the poverty level. Dean also pushed the state to go well beyond federal requirements in providing Medicaid benefits and subsidies for prescription drugs. "He was moving to put everybody in the state on government-paid-for health care," Freed says. "If we hadn't made substantial changes in the health-care programs last year [under GOP governor Jim Douglas], it could have bankrupted the state. Our policies are just not attractive to bringing in competition among health-insurance providers." State GOP chairman Barnett says that private insurance has been driven out of Vermont. According to the American College of Physicians, the number of companies selling health insurance in the state has dwindled from 16 in 1991 to two major private insurers today; the government-funded Medicaid system is Vermont's second-largest insurer. Dean campaign spokeswoman Courtney O'Donnell says that the number of private insurers in the state shrank because it is a "limited market" with a small population—and that other small, rural states face similar situations.



Howard Dean

GAYS, GREENS, AND GUNS

Dean claims health care as an area of high principle. Another such is civil unions for gays: He cites his signing of the nation's first civil-unions bill as a bold stand based on idealism. Speaking before the Human Rights Campaign, a gay-rights group, on July 15, Dean said, "If I'm willing to sign a bill that's at 35 percent in the polls six months before my fifth reelection bid, [then] I am willing to do the right thing and stand up, no matter what the polls and what the focus groups say." But in his 1998 reelection campaign, Dean said he wouldn't talk about the issue until the Vermont supreme court had ruled on it. A year later, the court ruled that the state's marriage laws discriminated unfairly against homosexuals, and ordered the state legislature to change the laws. Steve Hingtgen, a Progressive state representative from Burlington, says Dean took the easier path by pushing for civil unions instead of gay marriage: "Despite what it may look like from the outside, that he went out on a limb, I don't think he really took that many chances. The legislature had to go out on the limb and pass that bill. The governor didn't really have a role . . . It's not that he was opposed, it's that he wasn't about to go any further than he had to go." Legislators on both sides of the issue are still grumbling about how Dean signed the law—privately, in his office. Dean said he didn't have a formal ceremony in order to prevent further divisiveness over the emotional issue.

Despite the national attention lavished on Vermont's civil-unions law, state voters aren't passionate about the issue today. They are, however, still arguing over Dean's public-land purchases and his controversial policies on what is allowed on the public lands. Environmentalists praise him for his drive to purchase undeveloped land and preserve natural habitats. But, according to James Ehlers, the Burlington-based editor of *Outdoors* magazine, the state's purchases rapidly overtook its ability to maintain the land: "The land management of this state has been abysmal." Ehlers notes that state agencies are committed to thinning out trees on 133,000 acres to provide room for younger trees to grow—but they actually have the resources to thin only 80 acres per year.

Elizabeth Courtney served on a state environmental panel during the Snelling and Dean administrations. Now executive director of the Vermont Natural Resources Council, Courtney has praise overall for Dean's environmental policies. But she agrees that the state's land-purchase reach exceeded its maintenance grasp: "Dean's choice, nine times out of ten, was to invest in land conservation as opposed to investing in the institutions that work on cleaning up the environment. He had an Agency of Natural Resources that was, during his tenure, consistently underfunded and understaffed." (She says the legislature, as well as Dean, was responsible for the funding shortage.)

Dean's largest land purchase began in 1999, from paper company Champion International. Hunters had been leasing camps on the company's land for decades. Dean promised groups like the National Rifle Association that the hunters would keep their access to the land, and persuaded the state legislature to commit $4.5 million to purchase 22,000 acres. But Dean's deal also included provisions to appeal to the environmental community, such as the establishment of a 12,500-acre core ecological reserve with stringent use restrictions. "You can walk through it, and that's about it," Barnett says. The Nature Conservancy, a national environmental group, was given the authority to manage part of the land. According to some interpretations of Dean's executive order, the group also had the right to ban hunting and fishing on the land if the activities were interpreted as threatening to its ecological integrity. Shortly before Dean left office, the state

ROMAN GENN

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decided to phase out the 73 private hunting camps on the land 20 years after the death of the current leaseholders. Area sportsmen called it a betrayal. "Because he knew the NRA could help him in a presidential election, and that Vermont sportsmen and women could not, he played us against the NRA and environmental groups," Ehlers says.

The NRA does, in fact, give Dean a high rating. While most major national media profiles of Dean tout this as proof that he's a maverick Democrat, most local officials say the governor was simply recognizing political reality in one of the most pro-gun states in the country. (How passionate are Vermonters about their firearms? In 2000, a state legislator introduced a bill that would require all residents who do not own guns and who are eligible for military service to pay a $500 fee "for the privilege of not owning a gun.") "To advocate gun control in this state will get you run out of office," Speaker Freed says. O'Donnell says the only gun bill that Dean signed as governor banned guns from school grounds; the legislature passed it after the Columbine shootings.

A RECORD IMPLODES?

None of these issues impeded Dean's ability to win statewide races. In his first three gubernatorial elections, he crushed his opponents—winning about 70 percent each time. But in 1998, his vote dropped to 56 percent, and in 2000, he won 50 percent against an opposition divided between Republican and Progressive candidates. In 2002, Dean's successor and lieutenant governor, Doug Racine, received only 42 percent in losing to Jim Douglas. "One of the things we hung around Racine's neck was the Dean record," says Barnett, who served as Douglas's deputy campaign manager. He also says he suspects Dean would have had an "awfully tough time" had he run again in 2002.

One of the reasons for Dean's closer election in 2000 was the fallout from a controversial school-funding overhaul. In 1997, the Vermont supreme court ruled that the state's school-funding system was unconstitutional. Four months later, the legislature passed Act 60, which replaced widely differing local property taxes with a single statewide property tax, and also instituted an additional four-cents-per-gallon tax on gasoline to fund education. Despite widespread grumbling about the new system, Dean mostly supported Act 60. However, according to the Associated Press, Dean did get cranky about the court's decision to force the issue. At one point, he asked about his state's justices, "Who appointed them God?"—a rare example of a liberal complaining about judicial activism.

It also might be an example of the legendary Dean temper. His 2004 primary opponents have already encountered it, but his anger at Republican state senator Bill Doyle was especially memorable. Last year, Doyle, who has spent more than 30 years in the state legislature, joined his GOP colleagues in blocking votes on two bills. Enraged, Dean stormed onto the Senate floor, put his finger in the chest of the then-76-year-old Doyle, and yelled at him, their faces inches apart: "You had your chance. You're willfully obstructing this session. I've had enough of this. We're going home."

John McClaughry was Dean's gubernatorial opponent in 1992, and the Republican cheerfully concedes that he was "completely obliterated" by Dean that year, 75 percent to 23 percent. Now president of the Ethan Allen Institute, a free-market think tank in Concord, he has one bitter memory of running against Dean. During a debate, Dean accused McClaughry of voting against 50 environmental bills. The challenger later found that Dean's list had errors, and included several bills that were widely rejected in the state legislature. "I know people who get competitive when they're up by a few points or down by a few points," McClaughry says, "but what kind of a guy makes that kind of charge when he's 50 points ahead?"

Shortly before leaving office, Dean sealed his gubernatorial papers for ten years—almost twice as long as his two predecessors, but less than the 20-year period he had originally sought. "There are future political considerations," he told Vermont Public Radio. "We didn't want anything embarrassing appearing in the papers at a critical time in any future endeavor." As Dean's campaign continues, voters will have to make a few political considerations of their own. **NR**

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the long view

ROB LONG

Official Transcript
Larry King Live
July 21, 2005

LARRY KING: "So it's been a little more than a year since . . . since November . . ."

HOWARD DEAN: "You can say it, Larry."

LARRY KING: "Okay. Fair enough. Since the election. Which did not go well."

HOWARD DEAN: "Look, I could sit here and play the blame game and point fingers and what have you. I'm not gonna do that, okay? We ran a good campaign, it was a fair fight, what happened happened."

LARRY KING: "Still, it was a pretty lopsided . . . I mean, let's cut to the chase . . ."

HOWARD DEAN: "I don't get the obsession here. I really don't. I tried to lay out a course for the nation, I told them where I wanted to lead them. You know, with the economy coming back and Iraq stabilizing, I think I did pretty well."

LARRY KING: "You lost 51 states. That's pretty amazing, Governor, wouldn't you say?"

HOWARD DEAN: "We don't have 51 states, Larry."

LARRY KING: "Yeah, but Texas voted twice. They had that voluntary second election the next day. You know, just to kind of drive the point home."

HOWARD DEAN: "Not constitutionally relevant."

LARRY KING: "And Vermont?"

HOWARD DEAN: "Vermonters are mercurial, Larry."

LARRY KING: "Whatever. Duluth, Minnesota, you're on the air with Howard Dean! Hello!"

CALLER: "I was one of those famous 'Dean-o-paths' that really thought the governor would just take the country by storm, and I'm wondering if you now have a sense, sir, what really hurt you in the general election. Was it your vow to wait for total and complete confirmation of all intelligence before taking any action at all?"

HOWARD DEAN: "You know what it was? It was midterms."

LARRY KING: "Midterms?"

HOWARD DEAN: "Yeah. So many of my supporters were in the middle of them on Election Day. Hard to get out your base when they're worried about their GPA."

CALLER: "That's true! I had a big paper due that week! It was, like, impossible to get to the polling place. My parents would have killed me if . . ."

LARRY KING: "Thanks, caller! Tomorrow, the whole hour with Carrot Top!"

Official Transcript
The O'Reilly Factor
August 12, 2005

O'REILLY: "You don't think, Reverend Sharpton, that the way you conducted . . ."

REV. SHARPTON: "What is this 'conducted,' Bill? Why is it that only the African-American candidate is asked about how he or she conducted him or herself? You don't ask how George Bush 'conducted' himself, you don't ask how—"

O'REILLY: "C'mon, Reverend! You were the vice-presidential nominee for the Democratic party and you conducted yourself—"

REV. SHARPTON: "There it is again. Bill, you have got to understand that working people and people of color and people struggling for civil rights in this country . . ."

O'REILLY: "It was a rout, Reverend! A rout! You lost, what, 60 states?"

REV. SHARPTON: "Around that, yes, but you're forgetting that we made tremendous inroads . . ."

O'REILLY: ". . . a rudderless party . . ."

REV. SHARPTON: ". . . the gay and lesbian disabled out in force . . ."

O'REILLY: ". . . Lyndon LaRouche almost won Idaho . . ."

REV. SHARPTON: ". . . fundamentalist Muslims solidly in our corner . . ."

O'REILLY: "But that's my opinion and I respect you for coming on 'The Factor.' The book is called *My Face in Yours* and it's in bookstores everywhere."

REV. SHARPTON: "That's your book. My book is called *Jumbo Dreams* and it's—"

O'REILLY: "We're out of time, Reverend, sorry."

Official Transcript
20/20 Interview with Barbara Walters and Dick Cheney
September 4, 2005

BARBARA WALTERS: "Good evening, Mr. President."

DICK CHENEY: "Hi, Barbara. And please, remember that constitutionally speaking, I'm only the president until such time as President Bush completes his full recovery."

BARBARA WALTERS: "Is there a sense, sir, that maybe the parachute jump with the 101st Airborne might have been . . ."

DICK CHENEY: "Well, Barbara, as you know, hindsight is 20/20."

BARBARA WALTERS: "But actually parachuting into his own Inaugural Address . . ."

DICK CHENEY: "As I said, the president is in excellent physical shape, and this was something he wanted to do to show his support for the troops and their families and for the troops in Liberia and their families and the children we're not leaving behind. And the troops. And their families. And to support a mission accomplished. And the families of the mission accomplished. The president is an excellent athlete and it was felt that, given his physical shape, he could easily participate in a jump of the type suggested by the 101st."

BARBARA WALTERS: "Except for the trees on the Mall."

DICK CHENEY: "Right. That was an intel failure on the part of the previous administration."

BARBARA WALTERS: "And how long will he be in a full body cast?"

DICK CHENEY: "As long as the doctors deem it necessary. I'm not going to get into timetables."

BARBARA WALTERS: "Is there any sense of disappointment, that he missed, essentially, his second inauguration?"

DICK CHENEY: "Well, Barbara, as you know, the president hates to dance, so . . ."

BARBARA WALTERS: "And the recovery process? He'll be back at 100 percent?"

DICK CHENEY: "Absolutely. 100 percent. Mobility, arm and leg strength, everything. Mentally, physically, good as new. Hand/eye coordination, hearing, vision, all of it."

BARBARA WALTERS: "What about verbal abilities?"

DICK CHENEY: "That gets into a complicated issue."

BARBARA WALTERS: "We'll be right back."

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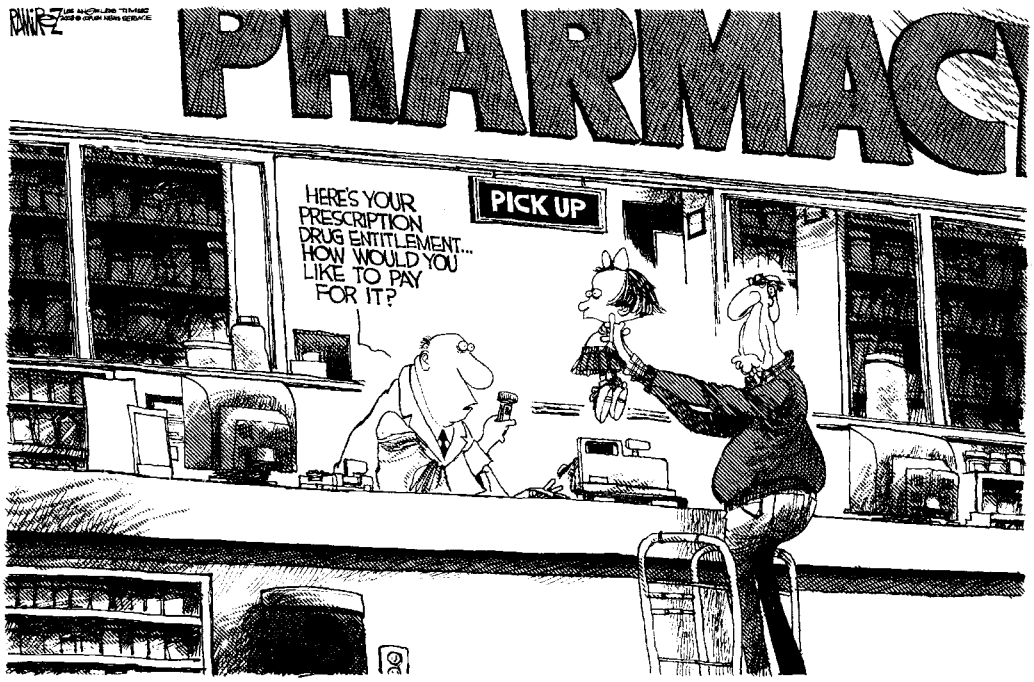

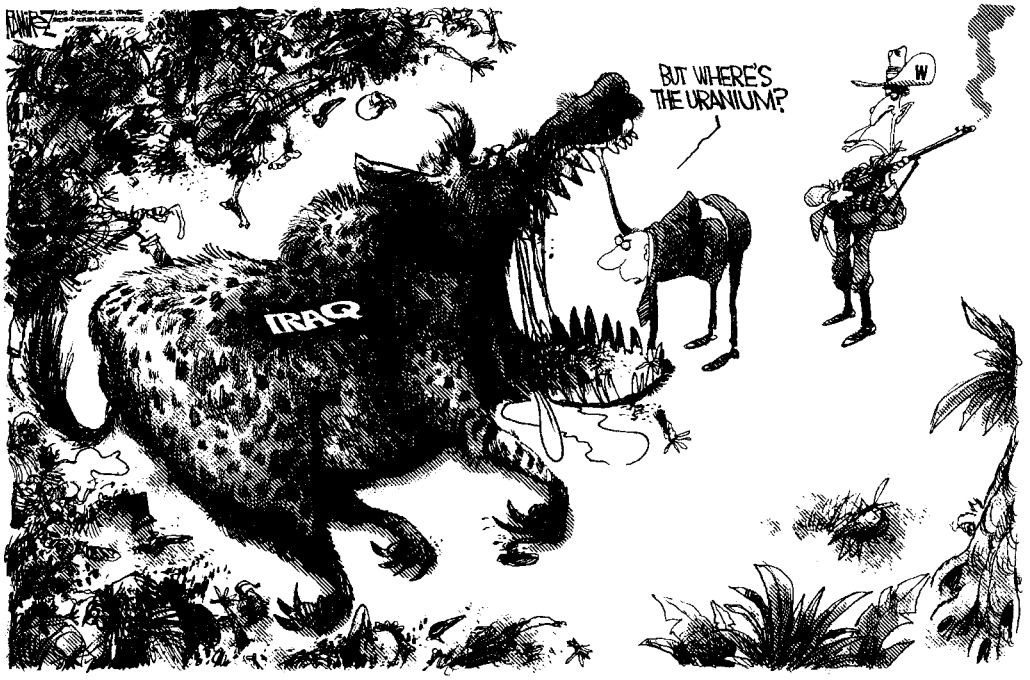

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John Kerry and John Lennon—we have many quips to make, but have decided to 'let it be.'

Tony's Situation

Recalling Winston when he got
A hug from Franklin, Tony's lot
Is more ambiguous: The cheers
From Congress blanketed the jeers
In dear old Blighty; but upon
Returning home, from Nice to Bonn
To swinging London, Tony's viewed
As one pol who could come unglued.

—W. H. von Dreele

Maureen Dowd and Little Bo Peep
A Funversation

Bo Peep: Fancy meeting you here! What are you doing out of the funnies?
Maureen: I'm looking for dirt on Little Boy Blue Movies. Can you please
Help me? He denies he slept in a haystack with a chaste lass,
Who now teaches a lore class.
I want that uppity, lazy, scant-credentialed, hormone-driven ingrate
To return home from his prodigal-son state.
Bo Peep: When did you upgrade from mud wrestler, hat-pin wielder, and
Dragon Lady, Love,
To a Bible-thumping none of the above?
Maureen: I hate hypocrites,
And mindless twits.
Bo Peep: And Little Boy Blue fits that profile?
Maureen: Perfectly. He is unspeakably vile.
Bo Peep: I have read what you wrote about him. I smell envy,
And a fulminating case of schadenfreude. You see,
I love Little Boy Blue. He taught me to kneel only to God;
To bear life's burdens, joyfully, however hard.
And he is still my friend, though now he's wearing
The robes of high office and keeps swearing
To uphold the Constitution, as written.
Clearly, you have been bitten
By the *pseudo-sapiential n.y. times bug*,
Which has turned your brains into a throw rug.
Maureen: Anita Hill made it; so can you, Little Bo Peep:
No more trying to find any of your lost sheep.
I'll teach you how to read, write, and fabricate
As a syndicated Supreme Court reporter. The pay will be great.
Bo Peep: What do I have to do?
Maureen: Just get Little Boy Blue Movies to
Sexually harass you in a haystack.
Bo Peep: I'd die before I become your attack
Dog, and end up as your paid peep,
Dowdy Ms. Creep.

—Johannes Eff

"You may experience some discomfort."

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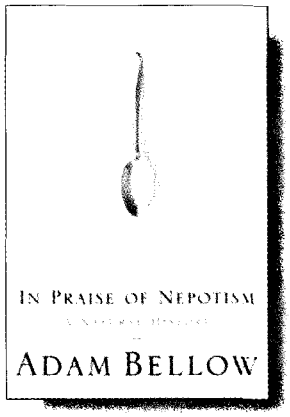
Thicker Than Water

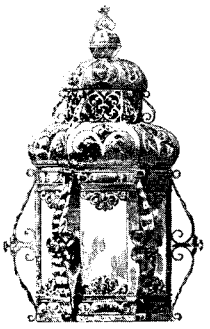


In Praise of Nepotism: A Natural History, by Adam Bellow (Doubleday, 576 pp., $30)

PAUL JOHNSON

THIS is an entertaining but serious book on a slippery subject. The Latin word *nepos*, usually translated "nephew," can mean almost any younger male member of a family. In the 14th century, Romans coined the word *nepotismo* to describe the way relatives of the pope, often his illegitimate sons, scrambled into high places and got themselves cardinals' hats. There are celebrated portraits of Julius II and Leo X, each with two "nephews" lurking shiftily in the background.

More generally, nepotism can be described as the unfair preferment of relatives to other, better qualified candidates. It is a characteristic of all ages and societies, and all ideologies and political systems, at all levels. In his fulminations against the French Revolution, Burke correctly predicted that nepotism would triumphantly survive its turmoils, and in fact Bonaparte became one of the greatest nepotists of all time, making three of his brothers kings, and his sisters either queens or princesses. Adam Bellow calls Napoleon's era "the golden age of nepotism." And it perpetuated itself, since his nephew became Napoleon III, who in turn made Bonaparte's illegitimate son foreign minister and put his own illegitimate son in charge of culture. Communism, too, is a great promoter of nepotism. The *nomenklatura* was a network of family groups, their children's rise being facilitated by attending special schools, Soviet Grotons or Etons. In Romania, Ceausescu ran a family regime; in North Korea, Kim Il Sung made his hereditary.



In Asia, in our own times, nepotism has taken many forms. In both Kuomintang and Communist China, the sinister influence of a wife, a Madame Chiang or a Madame Mao, imperiled the regime. In India the nepotism of the Nehru family eventually degraded the great Congress party. In Libya, under the monarchy, so many of the ruling family were involved in politics and scandals that King Idris had to open a special concentration camp for his relatives. Saudi Arabia, Muscat and Oman, and all the Gulf States are family regimes. The shah's regime in Iran was destroyed by nepotism.

Nepotism is a characteristic of all ages and societies, and all ideologies and political systems, at all levels. Adam Bellow takes a fresh look at it.

When such monarchies are overthrown, nepotism simply takes another form. The Syrian hereditary dictatorship is based upon a family and tribal pyramid. So was Saddam Hussein's in Iraq. A network of family relationships, indicating, as in Rome, the special enthusiasm among clerics for nepotism, lies at the heart of Iran's theocracy, as it did in the Afghan Taliban. Of the 50 or so states of Africa, more than 40 are ruled by particular tribes or family connections.

Bellow ranges through the whole gamut of nepotism, both historically and in the world today. As he points out, many forms of nepotism are legitimized by constitutional custom, or even statute. The present Queen of England occupies her throne by virtue of family descent as laid down by an act of parliament passed 300 years ago. Only now is the British government getting around to eliminating primogeniture and hereditary rights from the British Constitution by expelling hereditary peers from the upper house (still called the House of Lords). And even these are being replaced by prime-ministerial creations, a practice that lends itself to nepotism and its fellow abuse, cronyism. Even these so-called life peerages confer hereditary privileges, as the sons and daughters of such peers are officially designated "the Honourable," a title insisted on especially by socialist offspring.

Nepotism, then, in its countless different forms, is extraordinarily adhesive and persistent, as Bellow shows. But he also argues that it is often natural, wholesome, and socially useful. It is always a risky, and often a destructive, venture to try to act against the grain of human nature—that is precisely why collective economies fail and entrepreneurial market economies succeed. Bellow has no difficulty showing that anti-nepotism regulations—of which America has endless examples, public and private—are cumbersome, often unjust and cruel, and ineffective. No nation,

Mr. Johnson's forthcoming book is *Art: A New History.*

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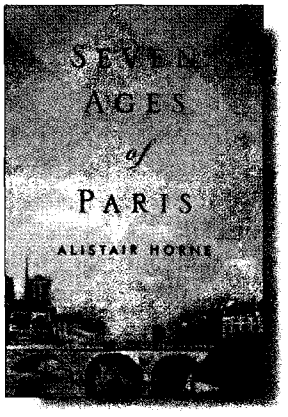
he argues, has set its face more fiercely against nepotism than the United States. George Washington was brought up to regard "interest" (the 18th-century term for it) as a part of life, yet as commander-in-chief and president he did his noble best to resist its charms and advantages. John Adams was made deeply uncomfortable by the talents and rise of his son John Quincy Adams—to the point where he almost welcomed the disasters that befell his other sons. Yet the survival and claims to distinction of the Adams family offer an example of the way that hereditary gifts will display themselves even in a society that denies rank.

Most people would agree that many kinds of business flourish best in family hands. Thus the best hotel in Gstaad, perhaps the best even in all Switzerland, boasts—rightly—that it has been run by the same family since its foundation. Virtually all the best French restaurants are family-run. Since the arrival of mass Asian immigrants in Britain, they have taken over and improved small newsstand, dry cleaning, and grocery businesses all over the country, family-run without exception. Bellow examines such family survivals as the Rothschilds, who profited from a reputation for financial efficiency and integrity not just to proliferate but to improve the quality of their business. And after all, the Rothschilds were repeating the family success of the Medicis, first doctors, then bankers, then royals perpetuating themselves through hereditary skills in marriage alliances—a performance enacted on a larger scale by the Habsburgs.

Bellow certainly proves his case that we should take a fresh look at the role family talent plays in public and business life. He shows that family businesses are flourishing and that nepotism is alive and well in show business, not least in Hollywood. And why should not hereditary skills be rewarded? What would music, for instance, be without them? All that the public really demands is fairness. I doubt whether that can be enforced by regulators and law. It is a matter for public opinion, the media, and the good sense of those who carry responsibility. **NR**

City of Light



Seven Ages of Paris,
by Alistair Horne
(Knopf, 480 pp., $35)

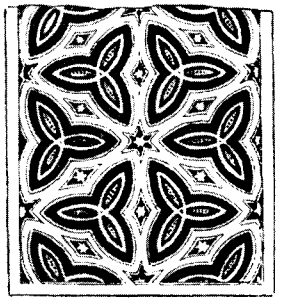
RICHARD BROOKHISER

WHETHER we go to Paris in the flesh, braving traffic, strikers, Arabs, and the indigenous rock and roll, or visit it from the comfort of our chairs, we need a guide. None could be better than Alistair Horne, the English journalist and historian who, after numerous volumes of French history, has drawn together this relaxed, witty, and seemingly omniscient love letter.

The story of a nation's capital will cover much of the nation's history, a truth that the French, who have the same love/hate relationship with Paris that Americans have with Washington, D.C., or New York, will resent, even as they acknowledge it. Horne covers all the necessary wars, kings, and revolutions, though he takes politics with a grain of salt. He dismisses Philippe le Bel, Louis XIV, and Napoleon—heroic consolidators, in the conventional view—as tyrants and warmongers. The only great French leader he seems to like is Henri IV, who decided that Paris was worth a Mass, and gave his subjects peace and quiet. They were so grateful to him that, after he was murdered by a lone fanatic in 1610, a mob seized the body of the assassin, which the executioner was drawing and quartering, and tore it to pieces in their wrath. The executioner, who, according to law, was supposed to burn the residue, had nothing left to torch but the assassin's shirt.

Urban life is not natural to our species, and our efforts to make it work have been attended with much difficulty. Horne's details of the brute practicalities of city living are as fascinating as they are repulsive. In the 13th century, "each rainfall turned [the streets] to a mud enriched by the droppings of horses and domestic animals, the waste from the tanneries and butcheries, and of the residents themselves in their houses innocent of any plumbing; and there were the forbidden swine to root through it and churn it all up." Improvements, such as pavement, an innovation begun by Philippe II, were regularly outpaced by growth. The first administrator to get a handle on the problem of Paris was Baron Haussmann, the creator/destroyer who worked for Napoleon III, replacing congested warrens with spacious boulevards. Many Parisians deplored his handiwork. The Goncourt brothers thought he had turned their city into "some American Babylon of the future."

Despite political and daily difficulties, Parisians have always sought to enjoy themselves. Horne surveys culture high and low, and women, mostly low. It is hard to pick one courtesan out of such a cavalcade, but I would vote for Mlle George (née Marguerite Joséphine Weimer), the tragedian of the first Empire whose lovers included Napoleon, Czar Alexander, and the Duke of Wellington. "Sadly," Horne notes, "in her old age she was reduced to keeping the *chalets de necessité* (public lavatories) at the Paris Exposition of 1855."



Horne ends with a set piece on Père Lachaise, the cemetery where so many Parisians, both Frenchmen and foreigners, from Abelard and Héloïse to Jim Morrison, have come to rest. This is a risky gambit: Meditations on Père Lachaise are a cliché of the literature of Paris. Yet Horne pulls it

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off, sweetly showing the life that is in the midst of death. In the Sixties Gaston Palewski, a Gaullist functionary, complained to Horne that he had been waitlisted for a plot. Not to worry, his mistress Nancy Mitford assured him: "Every once in a while they dig up the old bones, and then grind them up to make cosmetics for Chanel."

A history of Paris published in America at the present moment is inevitably entangled with the news. Without intending to, *Seven Ages of Paris* addresses several aspects of the current unpleasantness. As the war with Iraq approached, and the war within the Security Council raged, the Internet filled with jokes about French cowardice and incompetence. I got the one about the new French army rifle—never fired, only dropped once—about a dozen times. Horne gives the lie to such stuff. Even apart from the great commanders, like Napoleon or the Marshal de Villars, who saved the nation at the end of the War of the Spanish Succession, the French time and again show themselves to be brave and resourceful. The siege of Paris, lasting from September 1870 to January 1871, ended the Franco–Prussian War in humiliation and defeat, but was brightened by intrepid men using hot-air balloons to take messages in and out of the surrounded city. The second German attempt to take the city, in August and September 1914, was stopped by Gen. Joseph Gallieni, a 65-year-old retired officer suffering from prostate cancer, who decided, in the face of politicians' doubts, to stand and fight. When a colleague asked him where the line of retreat would be in case they were overwhelmed, Gallieni answered, "Nowhere." The oncoming Germans left a gap in their front; 600 red Renault taxis ferried troops to the spot, each making two round-trips a day, and the enemy was stopped.

The third German attack, in 1940, was followed by four years of occupation. When it ended, Gen. Charles de Gaulle marched down the Champs-Elysées and held a Te Deum at Notre Dame, exposing himself to German and Communist snipers. Malcolm Muggeridge was in the cathedral when shots rang out. "The huge congregation who had all been standing suddenly fell flat on their faces . . . There was a single exception; one solitary figure, like a lonely giant. It was, of course, de Gaulle. Thenceforth, that was how I always saw him—towering and alone."

But these episodes make a disturbing trajectory. The first two were community efforts. The third was a man impersonating a community. De Gaulle was a lonely Frenchman until his moment of vindication, and, as Horne notes, his victorious rhetoric—"Paris liberated. Liberated by herself, liberated by her people"—"judiciously withheld" any mention of the Anglo-Saxons who had carried him forward as gallant baggage. What happened to France in modern times to weaken it, from being the Terror to the Sick Man of Europe?

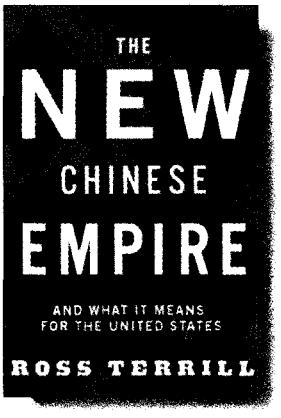
Even apart from the great commanders, the French time and again show themselves to be brave and resourceful.

Demography took its toll. The fertility of the heartland, uninvaded in the early modern era, made France the most populous nation in Europe. But persecution drove out Huguenot talent, constant wars blunted the nation's birthrate, and other countries had baby booms of their own.

Horne's book suggests that the deeper cause of France's problems is intellectual. In his account of the Paris Commune, the civil war between the left and center that marked the birth of the Third Republic, he quotes the Marquis de Gallifet, a general of the official government, addressing radical prisoners. "I am Gallifet," he told them. "You people . . . may think me cruel, but I am even crueler than you can imagine." What is striking about this little speech is not the sadism—all men and nations can be sadistic—but the proud self-consciousness. There is an extremism to French public life, which is connected both to French logic and to French self-dramatization. When the French take a view, they take it to the limit.

Paris is a city of light. But passion and strife will always be its portion. **NR**

Sino Infection



The New Chinese Empire: And What It Means to the United States, by Ross Terrill (Basic, 400 pp., $30)

ROSS H. MUNRO

In recent years, many of America's leading academic Sinologists have fumed as uncredentialed China hands have turned out books and articles on China and U.S.-China relations that commanded much public attention—and exerted much influence on U.S. thinking about China. The overshadowed Sinology establishment has mainly itself to blame: On the crucial topics of U.S.-China relations and the direction of contemporary China itself, academic Sinologists tend to produce polite reports and mushy books that rarely go beyond cautiously advancing the consensus of the Sinological establishment. Even when addressing China's direst problems, they have perfected language and phrasing that will not offend Chinese officialdom. To offend is to jeopardize one's ability to visit China and interview Chinese officials and academics—access that constitutes the bread and butter of the Sinological trade.

Mr. Munro, director of Asian studies at the Center for Security Studies, is co-author of *The Coming Conflict with China*. He also teaches Chinese Grand Strategy at the Institute of World Politics in Washington, D.C.

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No access means no field research, fewer research grants, and—for the top Sinologists—no fat consulting fees from corporations.

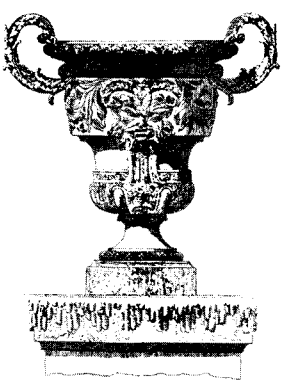
Ross Terrill is a notable exception—one of the few academic Sinologists who do not pull punches. Although he has long held a research position at Harvard, he doesn't run with the academic pack. Indeed, his intellectual independence energizes *The New Chinese Empire*, which at its core is a fresh, analytical retelling of Chinese history that adds immeasurably to today's "Whither China?" debate.

Terrill views Chinese history chiefly through the prism of political and strategic culture. That shouldn't be as daunting as it may sound. This book helps explain, better than anything written in decades, why China's rulers today behave the way they do, not just toward their Asian neighbors and the U.S., but also toward their 1.2 billion "subjects"—which, as Terrill vividly illustrates, is exactly how the Beijing regime views Chinese citizens.

The regime's problem, which Terrill is convinced spells its doom, is that it is trapped in a stultifying stew of centuries-old imperial Chinese thinking and the rigidities of a Leninist one-party dictatorship. Both traditions are hostile to genuine pluralism, to fundamental differences of opinion, let alone to democratic opposition. Ultimately this will prove impossible to reconcile with a growing market economy. Others have made this prediction, but Terrill excels at explaining why it is likely to come true.

The author delights in puncturing official balloons—the myths, distortions, and lies that underpin so much official Chinese policy and behavior. For instance, using sharp and caustic language that no establishment U.S. Sinologist would dare to employ, he savages a recent report by academics in China who obeyed orders to "prove" the fiction that Chinese civilization existed by 3000 B.C., in order to demonstrate its superiority to all other civilizations (reminiscent of the Nazi archaeology that "proved" the superiority of the Aryan race). Terrill mischievously reminds Beijing that it controls much of its current territory only because Joseph Stalin gave his Communist comrade, Chairman Mao, control of Manchuria and other vast sections of the old Qing Empire that the Soviet Red Army had occupied. He also demolishes the mythology and the twisting of history on which China bases its territorial claims—not only to still-unconquered Taiwan and the South China Sea but also to territory that it already firmly controls, such as Tibet and the once Muslim-dominated Xinjiang in the northwest.

Terrill's assessment that minority discontent in Tibet, Xinjiang, and Inner Mongolia "has the potential to unravel the PRC" is nevertheless out of touch with the reality on the ground in these regions. He recognizes the Machiavellian policies that Beijing has employed to suppress ethnic secessionism but seriously underestimates how successful these policies have been. Both carrots (co-opting and bribing minorities with easy university admission and well-paid government jobs) and sticks (ruthlessly repressing those who resist Beijing's control) have, sadly, been highly effective. Even more devastating has been Beijing's decades-old policy of drowning minority areas with Han Chinese settlers. If soldiers and temporary workers are counted, Han Chinese now constitute a majority in all "minority" regions, including Tibet. Those minority militants who still exist increasingly believe that their only option is terrorism, a threat the Leninist state can limit if not crush.



Although this book is not focused on U.S.-China relations, Terrill bursts with excellent insights and valuable advice, both implicit and explicit, about how Washington should deal with the prickly Beijing regime. Most U.S. officials who deal with China today would all be better armored to deal with Beijing after reading this book.

Uncharacteristically, however, Terrill buys into one particular myth held as gospel truth within the Sinology establishment—namely, that the Bush administration, after initially adopting an aggressive (conservatives would say firm and realistic) stance toward China, has abandoned this approach and wisely adopted the concessionary ways of preceding administrations. This is nonsense. President Bush has never disavowed his 1999 declaration that China is our "strategic competitor." Indeed, he transformed and toughened China policy within a few months of taking office; by strengthening relations with Japan, Taiwan, Southeast Asia, and India, he was able to counter China and restore a robust balance of power in Asia. Even his wooing of Russia's Vladimir Putin had a modest counter-China element. But after 9/11, the Bush administration wanted to focus on terrorism and the Middle East, and thus keenly wanted no distractions, such as a revival of Chinese military adventurism, in what was then a relatively quiet and stable East Asia. Because Bush had decisively revived U.S. standing in Asia prior to 9/11, his administration was able to pursue a tactical rapprochement with China without making any significant concessions that would have compromised our strategic interests.

Terrill's last chapter is an unnecessary orgy of prognostication. In contrast to the rest of the book, which clearly reflects years of deep thought, this chapter seems hurriedly written, as if his editors had demanded at the last minute that he add something to make his book "current and newsworthy." After an unoriginal laundry list of China's many woes, ranging from environmental pollution to a bankrupt financial system, Terrill offers no fewer than seven different scenarios by which the current regime might disappear. Terrill is clearly uncomfortable with prediction. At one moment, he suggests the end is imminent; at other times he seems to leave open the possibility of a gradual and peaceful political evolution. Finally, on the last page of a book that provides rich and convincing evidence of the strength and persistence of China's autocratic tradition, Terrill predicts that China will one day become "a modern democratic state."

Don't hold your breath. Indeed, don't even read the final chapter. Treasure the rest of this book for what it contains—a highly instructive perspective on the world's largest nation and a revealing insight into the behavior of its dictatorial regime. **NR**

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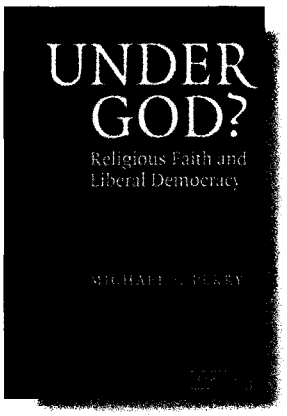
Citizens, Not Outlaws



Under God? Religious Faith and Liberal Democracy, by Michael J. Perry (Cambridge, 216 pp., $22)

RICHARD W. GARNETT

"THE vast majority of Americans," Pope John Paul II once observed, "are convinced that religious conviction and religiously informed moral argument have a vital role in public life." In this new book, legal scholar Michael Perry argues persuasively and precisely that this American consensus is correct: that there is, in fact, a place in our public square for "political reliance on religiously grounded morality," and that "neither the American constitutional ideal of nonestablishment nor the morality of liberal democracy calls for marginalizing the role of religious faith in, much less excluding it from, American politics."

In some of his earlier writings, Perry defended an exclusionist position on religion in politics. He no longer finds that view convincing, and now asserts that "there is even a sense in which [it] is—dare I say it?—un-American." Reflecting on Lincoln's Second Inaugural Address, Perry remarks: "How strange that the citizens of a nation whose rebirth was rooted in belief in a God whose 'judgments . . . are true and righteous altogether' should now be told that it is uncivil or impolite, if not constitutionally or morally illegitimate, to bring their religion to bear as they participate in politics."

Perry's argument in this book opens with a tightly reasoned exposition of the First Amendment's "nonestablishment norm": "Government may not take any action that favors a church in relation to another church, or in relation to no church at all, on the basis of the view that the favored church is, as a church . . . better along one or another dimension of value." The Constitution does not, however, prevent governments from acting in ways that happen to benefit religious believers and institutions (and so, school-choice programs are constitutional), nor does it regulate private conduct, expression, and worship. Law professor Kathleen Sullivan's claim that the Establishment Clause necessarily implies "the affirmative 'establishment' of a civil order"—an entirely secular order—"for the resolution of public moral disputes" is, Perry demonstrates, quite mistaken. The Constitution "deprives government of jurisdiction" to endorse and enforce religious truth claims as such, but it does not require government to maintain what Richard John Neuhaus has called a "naked public square," nor does it impose on devout religious believers a special duty to sterilize their political speech.

Expressing one's faith, and acting on it in political life, do not make one a constitutional outlaw; could they nonetheless make one a bad liberal, or a bad citizen? If, for example, a citizen or legislator votes, for religious reasons, to outlaw or disfavor conduct, does he thereby deny nonbelieving citizens the "equal respect" to which they are entitled? Perry explains that, while our commitment to "equal respect for persons" should prompt us to discern, and explain, the reasons for our political choices, it does not require us to pretend we do not have the religious beliefs we in fact have. As Stephen Carter has put it, religious people should not be "forced," in the name of "equal respect," "to disguise or remake themselves before they can legitimately be involved in secular argument." Along the same lines, Notre Dame philosophy professor Paul Weithman has argued that to demand, as the price of admission to the public square, a concession that "religious reasons are not good reasons for political action" would be to deny religious believers "full membership" in the community.

In Perry's view, religiously grounded moral belief is not only a "legitimate" but a "most fitting" basis for political decisions, because religious believers are best equipped to explain and defend liberalism's core moral commitment: "Every person is a subject of justice [and] every person is inviolable." Religious believers—unlike "contemporary secular moral philosophy"—can provide a coherent account of what it is about the human person that provides the foundation for this axiom. "The essence of all morality," historian R. H. Tawney said, is "to believe that every human being is of infinite importance, and therefore that no consideration of expediency can justify the oppression of one by another. But to believe this it is necessary to believe in God."

Having established that nothing in our Constitution or political morality requires religious believers to censor their public arguments, Perry considers whether the

Mr. Garnett is an associate professor at University of Notre Dame Law School.

SHOOTING STARS

I sat alone beneath the August sky,
In shadows of reflected city light,
To glimpse a hapless cold meteorite
Blaze glorious—blaze glorious and die—
And in those few bright seconds justify
Four billion years and dark until this night.
I marveled at this brief and wondrous sight,
And thought of you. I thought of nights gone by
When hand in hand we searched for shooting stars,
And eastward turned our eyes toward rising Venus.
I thought of you for these and other reasons.
Though now the sky is guarded by stern Mars
I think of you, the space and time between us.
These thoughts, these shooting stars, recur in seasons.

—ERIC CHEVLEN

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believers might still have good reasons—*religious* reasons—for avoiding certain kinds of religious arguments about such controversial issues as same-sex marriage. In his view, because "contemporary human experience" reveals that same-sex unions can be "truly, deeply fulfilling for some persons," Christians who believe what the Bible teaches about human well-being have good, explicitly Christian reasons to a) doubt that the Bible really condemns all homosexual conduct and b) avoid Biblically based arguments against such conduct. Speaking more particularly to Catholics, Perry contends that on such "widely controversial" questions, it is "important for a Catholic to work out her own position on the moral issue," to "judge whether . . . official Church doctrine . . . is in conformity with the Gospel, [and then] to make a political choice on the basis of her own position." The author concludes that Catholics have good reasons—*Catholic* reasons—to dissent from papal teachings on the morality of same-sex relations, and to construct their public arguments accordingly.

These arguments are not likely to persuade those to whom they are directed. Many Bible-believing Christians will doubt that Perry has faithfully discerned the lessons of "contemporary human experience"; many Catholics will regret that he appears to regard assent to the Church's sexual ethic as involving little more than yielding to the dictates of ecclesiastical authorities—and will also question whether it is really enough for Catholics to form their "own" views in "respectful conversation" with Church teaching.

Still, Perry's project deserves believers' praise and attention. While Richard Rorty, one of our more prominent academic philosophers, looks forward to the day when it will "seem bad taste to bring religion into discussions of public policy," Perry hopes to "make it bad taste to sneer when people bring their religious convictions to bear in public discussions." And he reminds engaged Christians that their public arguments should be shaped not by misguided readings of the Establishment Clause, but by their own religious traditions. People of faith are full citizens, and should not be forced to bracket their convictions—or their identity. **NR**

■ SHELF LIFE ■

Back from the USSR?

MICHAEL POTEMRA

"For the first time in this century, God has smiled on Russia." With these words, literary critic Yuri Karyakin greeted the fall of Soviet despotism in 1991. But the era of optimism was not to last long. In a stark and sobering new book, *Darkness at Dawn: The Rise of the Russian Criminal State* (Yale, 314 pp., $29.95), longtime Moscow correspondent David Satter depicts post-Soviet Russia as a nightmare world of poverty, corruption, and violence.

Satter covered Russia for the *Wall Street Journal* and the *New York Times*, and has a reporter's eye for detail. His book is good journalism, but it could also be used as a textbook in courses on political philosophy; it describes, more compellingly than any abstract theorist could, the consequences of nominal freedom without rule of law. Classical political philosophers say that, in principle, anarchy is the enemy of freedom, because there is no way one can exercise freedom unless one is supported by some sort of order. Satter's book shows the truth of this contention, in dramatic fashion: The Russia he depicts is close to the dystopia of *A Clockwork Orange*, in which any freedoms people enjoy are not "rights" based on abstract justice, but merely the temporary fruits of irregular power.

Satter describes the post-Soviet reformers as being in a hurry to establish "capitalism," without putting in place the necessary underpinnings for an effective free market: "Only the rule of law can assure the basis of a free market's existence, which is equivalent exchange. Without law, prices are dictated not by the market but by monopolization and the use of force." Thus did criminal gangs come to dominate the Russian economy:

> The criminal terror against well-connected Russian businessmen . . . was short-lived. Soon the gangsters, businessmen, and corrupt officials began to work together. The gangsters needed the businessmen because they required places to invest their capital but, in most cases, lacked the skills to run large enterprises. For their part, businessmen needed the gangsters to force clients to honor their obligations. Before long, nearly every significant bank and commercial organization in Russia was using gangsters for debt collection. . . . By 1997 a ruling criminal business oligarchy was in place. A small group of bankers and businessmen, all of them previously unknown but with close connections to both gangsters and government officials, had gained control of the majority of the Russian economy.

The Soviets, Satter contends, left behind them a moral vacuum—with consequences that will long afflict Russia. But corruption and violence are no more intrinsic to the Russian soul than to that of any other nation, as Satter recognizes when he dedicates his book "to the honest people of Russia." Building free institutions there will be an uphill task, but to call it impossible would be to despair of human nature altogether.

■ Tibor R. Machan, now at the Hoover Institution and Chapman University, is a

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distinguished philosopher and a serious exponent of conservative libertarianism. In his new book, *The Passion for Liberty* (Rowman & Littlefield, 243 pp., $24.95), he makes a convincing case for freedom, using a moral (as opposed to utilitarian) argument: "It is impossible to *guarantee* against human corruption in or outside the free society. . . . [But] nothing on the order of a good human community is possible when people who think themselves morally superior begin to play parents to their fellows. A restrained, maybe even well-behaved, Skinnerian human community is at least imaginable under those conditions—but not a morally and politically excellent one."

In one of the best passages of the book, Machan defends prudence as a moral virtue. In the worst passage, he defends abortion rights—on the grounds that up to a certain point in its development a fetus has not acquired "the familiar distinguishing capacity of a human being . . . the capacity (even if not yet exercised) to think and conceptualize." A pro-life libertarian would object that the fetus—immature though he undoubtedly is—deserves the same protection as any other citizen, when it comes to preserving his right to engage, eventually, in the pursuit of happiness and moral excellence. To insist on abortion rights in the law is to privilege one class of persons—parents—over another—children—even to the extent of allowing the former the power of life and death over the latter. It's a position more consistent with tribal patriarchy than with rights-based libertarianism. Nonetheless, Machan's eight pages on abortion should not distract the reader's attention from the rest of his book; this is, on the whole, an impressive primer on the principles of liberty.

■ Education is the transmission of the culture and values of one generation to the next. Given some of the confusions of culture and values in our times, however, one might wish the process of education were unsuccessful; it's positively unhealthy for the kids to be indoctrinated in the stuff most people believe today. Kay S. Hymowitz is one of America's best analysts of child-rearing as it is actually practiced, and her new book is a fascinating report on what the kids are learning. In *Liberation's Children: Parents and Kids in a Postmodern Age* (Ivan R. Dee, 202 pp., $24.95), she describes the soul-deadening process by which the young are socialized into a culture in which the central value is "the meritocratic struggle for success." From elite day-care centers all the way to what Hymowitz calls "J. Crew U.," the kids are slighted when it comes to any "identity that is larger than cognitive skill."

Hymowitz is on to some very important truths in this book: When sex and money are the most important things to adults, should anybody be surprised that the children are following suit? Also, be sure not to miss Hymowitz's terrific chapter on what's wrong with *Sesame Street*—it's a masterpiece of culture criticism.

■ The preservation of human dignity is one of the key goals of a just society. The new, revised edition of Wesley J. Smith's *Forced Exit: The Slippery Slope from Assisted Suicide to Legalized Murder* (Spence, 364 pp., $17.95) offers a compelling account of the threats posed to our common humanity by an easy regime of state-endorsed suicide—and what we need to do about it. Smith's writing is full of conviction, and appeals to the most basic principles. He views the marginalization of the sick and elderly as a frightening new incarnation of the attitudes of the Jim Crow era:

> Equality is the bedrock foundation of our culture. . . . Let us not make the mistake of replacing current groups of oppressed people with a new collection of "others"—this time based on our fears and prejudices about health, age, disability, and death. . . . As we open our arms to those whom we have traditionally rejected, let us not turn our backs on the dying, the disabled, and the chronically ill. . . . As we painfully achieve true equality, let us not undo our work by countenancing the killing of the weakest and most vulnerable among us.

What makes Smith's book especially valuable is that he views the fight against the euthanasia culture not only in negative terms—i.e., let's beat back the euthanizers—but in resonantly positive ones. What he seeks is a broad social reaffirmation of the value of each human being, no matter how powerless or mentally and physically tormented. He wants society to become genuinely compassionate. "If we succeed in doing that," he argues, "the battle will be won and the euthanasia movement will simply fade away."

■ It has been aptly observed that the plays of Shakespeare can stand, collectively, as a human comedy to parallel Dante's divine one. This is clear enough from a mere reading of the plays; the words themselves create a dazzling and comprehensive vision of the breadth of human experience. But to appreciate Shakespeare's strength specifically as a dramatist, it helps to hear his works interpreted by actors who are both talented and respectful of the text. And this is what *The Complete Arkangel Shakespeare* (Audio Partners, $600)—a British production of all 38 plays, unabridged, on compact disc—accomplishes.

I have already listened to over one-third of the plays in the Arkangel set, and they are, for the most part, terrific. The audio performances give the text a great emotional immediacy—greater, indeed, than that of many Shakespeare productions I've witnessed in the theater. This set's *King Lear*, for example, packs a greater emotional wallop than any I've seen. Equally impressive is what the producers have done with less-well-known works: The three *Henry VI* plays are not just comprehensible but actually rousing, and the comedy *All's Well That Ends Well* has a very convincing undercurrent of sadness. The letdowns of the series are few and slight: *Macbeth* is just a little overemphatic, and Othello's accent has a modestly distracting lilt. The most serious drawback is that the publishers have, as yet, no plans to release the plays one by one; they are available only in the complete set. For the time being, then, this is an expensive Shakespeare—but one in which it is easy to revel. **NR**

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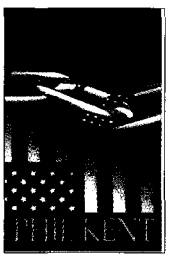
■ BOOKS IN BRIEF ■

The Dark Side of Liberalism: Unchaining the Truth, by Phil Kent (Harbor House, 201 pp., $24.95)

We need look no further than the first three words of Phil Kent's book to grasp its theme: "Conservatives can win." It's an important reminder, a counterweight to the prognostications of conservative gloominaries who (often quite understandably) take a less rosy view. Kent, the president of the Southeastern Legal Foundation, a conservative public-interest law firm, is a cheerleader for freedom. His passion is on display in *The Dark Side of Liberalism*, which attacks the liberal line on everything from race and immigration to taxes and the environment.



It is in legal matters that Kent shines. His chapter on the courts makes the point that, when it comes to things judicial, the labels "conservative" and "liberal" have become meaningless. Also highlighted in this chapter is the vital lesson that "the list of social and economic seismic shifts in the United States can ultimately be traced to the courts—not to Congress or the president."

Kent is a dedicated conservative activist, in the most literal sense of that word. He actively seeks to further freedom and conservative principles, anywhere and everywhere. The Southeastern Legal Foundation is currently leading the important fight against campaign-finance reform; in the fall, Ken Starr is expected to argue the case before the Supreme Court.

The Dark Side is a good pep talk for conservative activists—those who toil, as Kent says, "in the trenches." May they not lose heart!

—SARAH MASERATI

Treason: Liberal Treachery from the Cold War to the War on Terrorism, by Ann Coulter (Crown Forum, 355 pp., $26.95)

In her latest bestseller, Ann Coulter has yet again enraged her fellow chatterati. Her critics on the right are embarrassed at how Coulter has her way with the history of the Cold War; those on the left are galled by the sheer audacity of her defense of Joseph McCarthy (no one ever called *him* Uncle Joe). Many have compared the skinny provocateuse to the girthy Michael Moore. In fact, Coulter has no counterpart. Moore and Coulter may both be loudmouths, but while Moore is unrelievedly doctrinaire, Coulter is a free spirit. She can be accused of many things, but dogma is not one of them.

Coulter may be cavalier with facts, as many critics have charged—but, then again, nobody should mistake her for a scholar. Careful historians have already vindicated anti-Communism; Coulter's role, by contrast, is to move debate, to push rightward the boundaries of respectable opinion. Conservatives won the debate over Communism, but liberals still own the soapboxes and lecterns from which Cold War history is taught. In fact, Coulter's thesis—that liberals err invariably on the side of America's enemies, whether rich or poor, powerful or weak, utopian or cynical—is substantially correct. In the hands of a less polemical writer, this thesis would have made for a more influential book. As it is, *Treason* is primarily entertaining, as also outrageous.

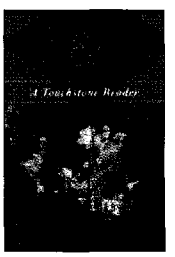
If Coulter's half-a-million readers come away from *Treason* sensing that anti-Communism was about more than "witchhunts," she will have done a good deed—as hard as it may be for many to admit.

—SARAH MASERATI

Creed and Culture: A Touchstone *Reader*, edited by James M. Kushiner (ISI, 254 pp., $25)

A TOUCHSTONE is a piece of hard rock used to test the authenticity of precious metals. Fittingly, these pieces drawn from the quarterly *Touchstone: A Journal of Mere Christianity* serve as a standard by which the reader can judge the quality of contemporary Christian polemic. If this book is any indication, it thrives.

Touchstone began as a newsletter in 1986. With the help of Russell Kirk, it grew in size and stature until settling down as a monthly journal in which Christian thinkers of every stripe could debate the great theological and social questions of the day. The essays here tackle a variety of topics, from the virtues of homeschooling to the vices of feminist theology. The diversity of subjects means that there is something for everyone: Readers whose theological fires aren't stoked by the thought of reading 15 pages on Chrysostom, for example, may find James L. Sauer's Catholic take on the Bambi myth enlightening and entertaining. What the anthology lacks in unity, it makes up for in holy spirit.



Sauer's two pieces are the strongest in the book. In "An Everlasting Life," a meditation on the six-week life of his daughter Mary, Sauer describes the crisis in faith that accompanies an unexpected death. His words combine pathos and abiding faith in a manner that one is unlikely to encounter in the mainstream press. The power of his essay lies in its use of postmodern pastiche, juxtaposing the Creed with the unfolding tragedy of his daughter's death. To be sure, it is somewhat surprising to find postmodern literary techniques in an outspokenly anti-modernist publication; but the Lord works in mysterious ways.

—MATTHEW CONTINETTI

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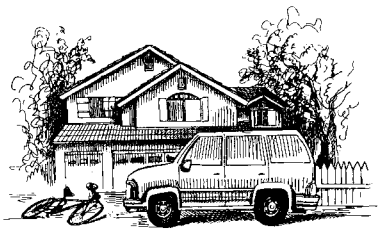
■ THE STRAGGLER ■

Post-hole Serenade



JOHN DERBYSHIRE

Now, don't get me wrong. I am a happy suburbanite. I like suburbia—have even rhapsodized about it ("The Vital Middle," NR, March 22, 1999). The following remarks, which are really in the nature of grumbles, should therefore be taken in the spirit of that Shakespeare sonnet where the Bard tells us that his girlfriend's breath stinks, but he adores her anyway. Every rose has a thorn (to continue this line of allusions), and there is a downside even to the suburban idyll.

There is, for instance, the noise. Suburbs have lawns and gardens, which need tending. Few Americans below retirement age seem to want to do this themselves anymore, and the days when teenagers would perform such chores for money are long gone. On my street, mowing your own lawn is now considered eccentric. The majority preference is to have this kind of work done by hired teams of Aztecs—cheerful small brown people with gold teeth and not a word of English. They roll up in rattletrap trucks towing flatbed trailers, unload industrial-size pieces of machinery, and swarm over the lawns mowing, blowing, and trimming.

Their equipment is industrial not just in size, but also in the noise it produces. Worst are the leaf blowers, gasoline-powered backpack kits with long wide nozzles attached. I suppose it would make them unacceptably heavy if any kind of muffler were added, so the things shriek and roar at a volume that makes crockery vibrate a block away. The operators themselves have earmuffs, but so far none of them has ever offered me a pair. I sit at my study window—hopeless to attempt any kind of mental work while this racket is going on—and watch them blow my neighbors' leaves into the road. The process does not seem very efficient; I accomplish the same result myself in very little more time by silent raking. I suppose it is reactionary of me to think such thoughts.

It is certainly deplorable of me to reflect that these workers are mostly illegal immigrants. Even the term "illegal immigrant" is, in fact, according to my local newspapers and TV stations, a form of hate speech. The media refer to these persons with great delicacy as "day laborers," or, when the subject of their immigration status absolutely cannot be avoided, as "undocumented aliens." Not everyone is persuaded. There is a great deal of anger about this issue locally, though whether the people who are angry are the same as those who hire the "day laborers" to trim their lawns and blow their leaves, I cannot say.

Next to noise on the scale of suburban nuisances is bureaucracy. A political scientist once tried to explain to me that, contrary to what one might conclude from first reflections on the matter, government operations become more efficient and less corrupt as you go up the subsidiarity chart. County government (he claimed) is better than municipal, state better than county, federal better than state. Reading about the deliberations of our nation's lawmakers and judges, I find this hard to swallow as a universal principle, and faintly un-Tocquevillean in its implications. It is undoubtedly true, though, that municipal bureaucracies are home to some of the dimmest, meanest, most venal, most pettifogging, most self-important creatures on God's good earth. A Chinese customs official, or a German policeman, or the beadle in *Oliver Twist*, would be a model of flexibility and accommodation compared with some of the functionaries in the offices of an average suburban New York township.

My own quiet street goes nowhere in particular, but is accessible from both ends. Occasionally cars drive through it much too fast. This is a worry to those of us who are parents of young children. Our kids like to play in the street in good weather, and it is alarming for us to see some fool teenager (who, if anybody wants my opinion, ought to be mowing lawns) barreling through at 40 miles an hour. Last year we submitted a request to the town hall to have signs put up at both ends of the street warning drivers that children might be playing. Nothing happened for some weeks. Inquiring, we were told that such requests take "many months" to evaluate. A neighbor and I took matters into our own hands. We bought two bright yellow "SLOW—CHILDREN" signs over the Internet, two appropriate metal stanchions from Home Depot, and installed them at suitable points.

Several months passed. Then, coming home from a cross-country trip this spring, I saw that our signs were gone. Inquiring, I learned that Town Hall, finally responding to our original request, had sent a man round to determine the best location for a sign. Seeing the ones we had installed ourselves, he flew into a rage, summoned a work crew, and had the signs removed. In the case of my sign, this was no small undertaking: I had imbedded the stanchion in concrete, in a well-dug post-hole. They had to cut the thing off with a hacksaw.

I called Town Hall, and eventually found myself speaking to a supervisor in the Highways Department. Some predictable exchanges followed. I wanted to know why it took over a year to bring out a crew to erect a sign, when a crew could be summoned to *remove* one in half an hour. He wanted to know on what basis I presumed to tell him when and how he should deploy his *pitifully limited* resources. I wanted to know why, since the town obviously had *no interest whatsoever!* in the safety of our children, we should be prohibited from attending to the matter ourselves. He wanted to know if I had considered the consequences should a driver be distracted by my *illegally installed!* sign and have an accident. I wanted to know whether the town would reimburse me for the cost of my [blasphemy] sign. He wanted to know to which address he should send the bill for removing the [expletive] thing. We slammed down our handsets simultaneously, I think, each in the grim satisfaction that he had seen off the other in proper manly style.

My street now boasts signs saying TOWN SPEED LIMIT 30—completely inadequate to the situation, and a waste of public time and money, but in perfect accordance with the Highway Department's damn-fool regulations. If we could get them to pass some noise ordinances, and enforce them with similar rigor, I'd feel better about it. **NR**

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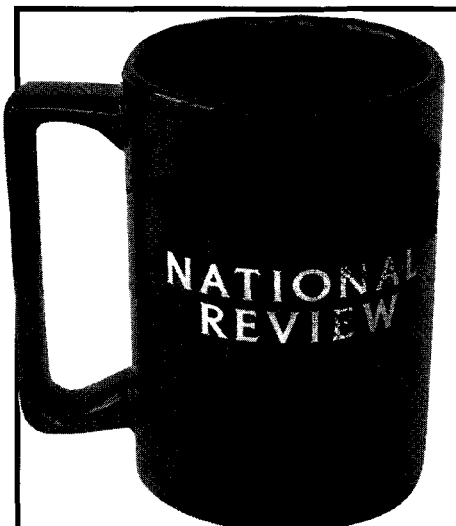

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on the right

WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY JR.

The Candidates and Buzzwords

NEW YORK, JULY 3

THE success of Howard Dean's fundraising has got him top political attention. He is not quite first in money in the bank (that's Senator Kerry with $13 million), but he isn't far behind ($10.1 million), and he has come up very quickly, using the Internet widely for the first time.

Who is Dr. Dean? He was governor of Vermont, he is left-wing, opposed the war, wants universal health coverage of some kind or another, higher progressive taxation, and fewer gun-control laws. *Slate* magazine's "Buzzwords" feature, devoted to presidential candidates' mini-portraits, selects this passage for Dr. Dean as representative:

"[I signed] the civil unions bill. And it said that marriage is between a man and a woman, but same-sex couples are entitled to the exact same legal rights as I have: hospital visitation, insurance, and inheritance rights."

Slate contributes:

"*What it means*: I'm not afraid to support gay marriage.

"*What it hides*: I'm using this as code for gay marriage.

"*Subtext*: If a euphemism will make you homophobes feel better, who am I to judge?"

Senator Kerry gets donations in larger figures, but he is anxious about Dr. Dean because they live in neighboring states, and Dean, the risk-taker, would profit greatly from a humiliation of Kerry in the New Hampshire primary. The *Slate* Buzzwords portrait of Mr. Kerry chooses to quote from one of his speeches: "I have been a leader in the environment since I first came back from Vietnam and became a part of Earth Day 1970."

"*What it means*: On the environment, I'm a war hero. On campaign reform, I'm a war hero. On affirmative action, I'm a war hero.

"*What it hides*: What does Vietnam have to do with any of these issues?

"*Subtext*: Did I mention I'm a war hero?"

Senator Lieberman is not doing as well as expected, having raised only $8 million. There is talk that his umbilical connection with Bill Clinton is here doing him a little damage. Clinton remains very popular in gross figures (53 percent approval), but the discriminating voters are most discriminating on primary days. The Buzzwords on Lieberman:

"One nation, under God . . . You can go as far as your God-given talents will take you . . . I will remember what President Kennedy said, that here on earth, God's work must truly be our own . . ."

"*What it means*: The universal deity.

"*What it hides*: Everybody supports God's will, but nobody can agree on what it is.

"*Subtext to conservatives*: Although I'm Jewish, I'm religious.

"*Subtext to liberals*: Although I'm religious, I'm Jewish."

Dr. Dean's people are saying that his collections show an intensity in his followers' loyalty. Mr. Kerry's people say that intensity is one thing, breadth of support quite another. What Democrats want, another commentator summarizes, is, pure and simple, the defeat of George Bush. And this will not be brought on by Howard Dean. Rush Limbaugh said on Wednesday that some Republicans are furtively raising money for Dean. They'd love to see just that, Bush vs. Dean.

Well, best to wait on that kind of confidence.

No on Liberia

NEW YORK, JULY 8

WE are hard up on it in the matter of Liberia. The nation-changers see it as one more nation to change—and who would vote against a different nation, except for the matter of how to bring it about? The nation-changing program in Iraq is going muddily, and it is good news that the Iraqi guerrillas don't have weapons of mass destruction at hand, but rifle fire and an occasional hand grenade serve their political purposes. They aren't enough to drive the coalition forces out of the country, but they are enough to give off a Chechnyan smell of perpetual armed resistance.

Three considerations appear to be converging, in the matter of Liberia. The first is pretty unqualified approval of intervention by the United Nations. The second is the warrant issued for the arrest of Charles Taylor as a war criminal. The third is a perceived sense that some singular exertion should be made to do something in black Africa.

Africa is a terrible mess, and the inclination over the years has been to turn one's head away from it, in part because of an accepted sense of futility in trying to do anything about it, in part because there is a suspicion, mostly unexpressed, that black countries simply don't know how to maintain civil democratic order. Oh, we go through the proper formalities. Everybody cheered the day that Ian Smith stepped down and Mugabe stepped up. In the Congo, *The Economist* puts the figure of dead in fighting at 4.7 million. Oh, and in Sudan, something over 2 million in two decades. And we all know about Rwanda and Burundi and the 1.5 million dead. Abstention presupposes a callused capacity for detachment from this continental gore, as we whistle along, year after year. The figures of African dead amount to many times the loss of Allied troops in the Second World War, and come near to the numbers of the Holocaust. But what we are trained to celebrate is decolonialization. There is little in post-decolonialization to warrant celebration.

President Bush put off a decision to engage in Liberia. He said he wanted "all the facts." What facts are we short of that have a bearing on the challenge at hand? Our nation-building has given us Lebanon, Somalia, Haiti, Bosnia, Kosovo, Afghanistan, and

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Iraq. The intervention in Haiti, by Mr. Clinton, was a political gesture designed to assure the black community that intervention in behalf of blacks was something the United States was willing to do. Putting down in six nations in Africa, President Bush will have an opportunity to canvass sentiment on a venture into Liberia.

He would do well to jettison, at the outset, any claim to special U.S. obligations to Liberia stemming from our national sponsorship of a free and independent Liberian state in 1847. We are not beholden to Liberia in the sense that the British, French, and Belgians can be thought to be beholden to Rhodesia, Sierra Leone, the Ivory Coast, and the Congo.

Yes, of course, the United States should offer a contribution of food, medicine, and peace-corpsmanship. But the endeavor should be thought a black African enterprise, and that is a hefty challenge to the diplomacy of the United States government.

The Perils of Remembering Kate

NEW YORK, JULY 11

THE hot publishing news is that Katharine Hepburn spent much time with author A. Scott Berg, the biographer of Charles Lindbergh, and knew from the outset of their friendship in 1983 that he would write her biography. Her terms were as straightforward as one would expect from "Kate" (the book is called *Kate Remembered*): The book would not appear until after she was dead. Biographer Berg has been quick to move, publishing an obituary in *Time* magazine. The book, the gestation of which was kept totally secret by Putnam's, will be published almost immediately. "Kate often suggested the importance of publishing a book right away," Berg's press release said, "because she presumed there would be many books about her over the years, and she presumed they would be filled with the same misstatements of facts that have appeared over the years."

Right away we are provoked. Without studious knowledge of the Hepburn story, do we know that there have been all that many misstatements of facts? Misstatements of enduring interest, or significance, blemishing Kate's career? Or rather, Kate's life?—nothing could conceivably damage her career, with its four Oscars and twelve Academy Award nominations.

A second question. If she "presumed" there would be many books published about her (there have been 20 already, not including her own), why would they be full of misstatements if Mr. Berg's book will be there to abort such misstatements? Was Kate telling us that future biographers would *persist* in misstatements, even if Berg told the true story? Why?

But Miss Hepburn was not a vigorous thinker. "I don't regret anything I've ever done, as long as I enjoyed it at the time," she once said. That really is not sound thought, and not even worldly. If such a code were right for her, one would guess she'd think it right for everybody. Have no regrets, as long as what one did was enjoyable at the time? That is strange, retroactive self-indulgence. If he enjoyed the rape, he should feel no regret for having done it? If she enjoyed the diversion that meant inattention to a child or to aged parents, then therefore no cause to regret such inattentions?

No word of criticism of Miss Hepburn's acting career would cross this desk without dying a bloody death, but that isn't what Mr. Berg's book is supposed to accomplish. Hepburn said that the book's purpose was to correct misstatements. There are no misstatements in her movies. They are over and done, some of them works of cinematic genius, her artistic deposit, iconic. What is it we are left wanting to know?

Her injunction, said Berg in *Time*, was "to work hard, and to love someone. And to have some fun. If you're lucky, you keep your health . . . and somebody loves you back." Yes. But does this lead to a greater understanding of life's purposes? Berg writes that she "seldom philosophized." But then he told a story about her which is deeply philosophical in its implications. She was asked to attend a memorial tribute for an old friend who had played an important part in her life. She didn't want to go. "What's the point? She's dead. She won't know the difference." Berg persisted: It might mean something to the two sons of the deceased.

Well, okay; she went. After it was over, she told her biographer, "Don't ever have one of those for me." He countered that he was sure some tribute was inevitable. "Well, luckily I won't have to be there for it. And neither should you." The sentiments are emotionally jejune and spiritually empty.

She could be very sharp in deflating the affectations of fellow luminaries. She knew that there were consequences in being a theatrical public figure, and that these should be borne. But she seemed to go further. Berg reports that she simply didn't understand stars who sued newspapers for printing lies about them. "I never cared what anybody wrote about me," said Kate. "As long as it wasn't the truth."

That is perplexing. If it's the truth, then she would not want it told? But what then was biographer Berg's commission? To write untruths? But she doesn't want those—other biographers will do that aplenty. That means he is to write truths about Kate. But she just finished saying that's the one thing she didn't want.

One is forced to deliberate on the vat of nothingness that geniuses offer us, when they leave off playing the violin, or painting landscapes, or waging war. There are exceptions, but Kate's life doesn't promise to be one.

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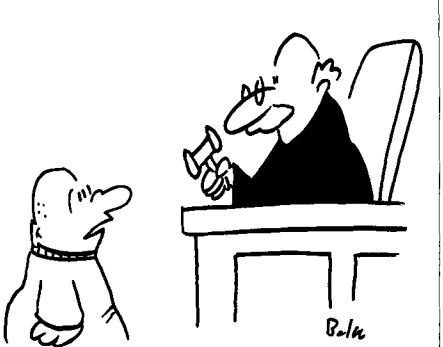

"I can't associate with known criminals?—Well, there goes my class reunion!"

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what's right

DAVID FRUM

Scandalous

EVERYBODY seems to agree that the suicide of Dr. David Kelly, the British defense analyst, is a prelude to a scandal—but nobody can quite seem to decide whose scandal it is. The Blair government's? The BBC's? That of Kelly himself?

For an American audience, the scandal is especially hard to understand, because it originated in a British media culture that is unlike anything that exists on this continent. There's no American equivalent of the BBC, which created the scandal. The BBC is like CBS, CNN, NPR, Comedy Central, *Time* magazine, and every local market's top news station all rolled into one gigantic bureaucracy, paid for out of taxes and tilting to the far left.

The scandal was then sustained by the *Daily Mail* newspaper. There's no equivalent of *it* either—a right-leaning national tabloid famous for its hatred of the Blair government, its accusatory style, and its very British assumption that every grief or woe that occurs anywhere in the British Isles is the national government's fault and responsibility.

That's the background. Now the foreground:

Last September, the Blair government released a dossier that argued that Iraq possessed weapons of mass destruction already and was vigorously seeking to obtain more.

On May 29 of this year, BBC correspondent Andrew Gilligan reported on the *Today* program—a morning radio broadcast that is one of the most important public-affairs shows in Britain—that a British intelligence official "involved in the preparation of the dossier" was accusing Prime Minister Tony Blair's chief communications aide, Alistair Campbell, of "sexing up" the dossier. Campbell promptly denounced the report as a lie—and launched an internal investigation of the charge.

As the investigation proceeded, suspicion alighted on Dr. Kelly. Kelly was an occasional adviser to the British Ministry of Defense and a former U.N. arms inspector in Iraq.

This discovery was very damaging to the BBC's case, for three reasons: 1) Kelly was not a British intelligence official, as the broadcaster had suggested; 2) Kelly's involvement in the preparation of the dossier had been only very glancing—he was in no position to know what Campbell had done or not done; 3) while Kelly was an expert on biological weapons, he was in no position to know Iraq's overall military capabilities. Moreover, in private conversations with the government, Kelly insisted that he had never impugned Campbell's handling of the dossier. So Campbell took his case public.

The Blair government released a new document detailing Kelly's refutation of the Gilligan report. On background, government briefers provided details that soon identified Kelly to the media. Kelly was hauled before a House of Commons committee. There he denied that he had ever questioned the accuracy of the dossier: "I had no doubt that the veracity of it was absolute."

At the same time, though, Kelly revealed some uncomfortable truths about himself. He acknowledged that he had spoken to Gilligan and probably other BBC reporters. Most observers of his testimony became convinced that Kelly had indeed criticized the dossier to the press, without knowing what he was talking about. This revelation must have been deeply humiliating to a man who by all accounts prided himself on his professionalism. Two days after he concluded his testimony, Kelly killed himself.

The BBC then confirmed that Kelly was the sole source of Gilligan's story—and Kelly's family and the *Daily Mail* accused the government of hounding Kelly to death: "Proud of Yourselves?" asked the *Daily Mail*'s headline over photographs of Prime Minister Blair and defense secretary Geoffrey Hoon.

But what exactly is it that the Blair government is supposed to have done wrong here? Dr. Kelly's family and antiwar newspapers like the *Guardian* are insisting that the Blair government somehow betrayed Kelly by failing to protect his privacy and by "bullying" him before a House of Commons committee. Even by the standards of Britain's culture of entitlement, this is some stretch.

Dr. Kelly believed that the Blair government falsified the case for war. Instead of forthrightly declaring his beliefs to the public, he whispered them anonymously to a reporter. Then, when the reporter "sexed up" (to borrow a phrase) the anonymous allegations by presenting Dr. Kelly as a much more important person than he really was, Kelly kept quiet. His silence was a form of complicity in Gilligan's untrue story—and in all the damage that the story did to the credibility of the Blair government and public confidence in the Iraq war.

Now the same antiwar British media that (wrongly) attacked the Blair government for broadcasting untruths is savagely attacking it for catching the media in an untruth. The media that falsely presented themselves as the champions of truth are now the champions of the right to lie anonymously.

The Blair government had no obligation to protect the confidentiality of anybody involved in the Kelly/Gilligan story. As a consultant to the Ministry of Defense, it was Dr. Kelly who owed a duty of secrecy to the government, not the other way around.

If Dr. Kelly's own mental state was too fragile to bear the glare of publicity triggered by the pseudo-scandal he himself set in motion, that is very sad. But journalists who hurl the most appalling abuse at officials of the government are not well placed to act pious when that abuse redounds upon their sources. How can it be acceptable journalistic practice to call a prime minister a liar—and then call him a bully when he seeks to prove that he is not? How can it be acceptable to charge a government with falsifying the case for war—and then to wax indignant when the *actual* falsifers are exposed?

If there's a scandal here, it is not Blair's. If there is blood on anybody's hands, it is on those of the BBC—and its abettors elsewhere. **NR**

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The Singapore Question

The Bush Administration will soon ask Congress to ratify a new trade agreement with Singapore -- a small, prosperous, Asian city-state that occupies a space roughly 3.5 times that of the District of Columbia.

The deal made by the U.S. trade negotiators and the Government of Singapore is simple. We allow Singapore's manufacturers to export an unlimited quantity of their goods into the rich U.S. market of 291 million people -- duty-free.

In exchange, Singapore gives U.S. banks, insurance companies, brokerage houses, lawyers, engineers, and architects greater market access to Singapore's 4.4 million people.

Given the relative size of the two populations, this deal is obviously unbalanced. Inevitably, the result will be a worsening of the U.S. trade deficit and further declines in U.S. manufacturing, a sector that has lost 2.4 million jobs since January 2001.

Despite these prospective U.S. losses, this trade deal's importance is not found in the value or the volume of U.S. trade with Singapore. Rather, the pact is significant because U.S. trade negotiators say that it will be the model for many additional agreements.

If Congress allows the duty-free import of Singapore's manufactured goods, all other Asian nations will quickly demand the same treatment. The Singapore trade deal sets the precedent. Moreover, U.S. trade negotiators are willing to give other nations the same deal.

While Singapore's workers are paid a livable wage, those in Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, China, Indonesia, Malaysia, and Thailand, among other Asian countries, toil for penny-wages.

Ultimately, therefore, the vote on the Singapore Trade Agreement is a surrogate for a much larger and a much more important question - Will the U.S. Congress vote to pit American workers against the penny-wage labor of Asia?

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Bad Law, Less-Bad Results

Robert Zelnick is a research fellow at the Hoover Institution and chairman of the Department of Journalism at Boston University.

As a student of the law, I reject an interpretation of the Equal Protection Clause that permits state universities to use race as one of their admissions criteria.

As an educator, I denounce our selective institutions purporting to serve students by admitting those whose academic qualifications fall far short of the majority and who predictably wind up in the bottom quarter of their class.

As a citizen, I am appalled when "diversity" quickly translates into de facto segregation at student living facilities, campus gathering places, even graduation ceremonies. I oppose *Law Review* places allocated by race rather than by grades or research skills. I share with John McWhorter of the University of California a sense of horror at the mind-sets—victimization, self-separation, and anti-intellectualism—we are producing among the intended beneficiaries of race preferences.

All that said, I was not totally displeased by the Supreme Court decision permitting the University of Michigan to admit a "critical mass" of minority students. My reasons are threefold: California, Texas, and Florida. I have seen the future and it does not work. Let me explain.

Through referendum, judicial decree, or executive order, each of these jurisdictions was compelled to abandon race-conscious university admissions. At each state's most selective institutions, the first result was a sharp decline in the number of entering minorities. Particularly in California, the predicted process of "cascading" occurred, as students with less-impressive academic credentials found a better match at less-competitive institutions.

In educational terms, this is not a bad result. The discarded systems had employed naked discrimination to inflate the numbers of minority students. Minorities had been stigmatized as inferior students. They had flocked to less-demanding majors. Disproportionately, they had left school before graduation. With those problems abated, society could turn to the essential task of improving minority education in grades K–12, eventually enabling them to return to the elite schools in robust numbers and as equals in every respect.

But what seemed logical proved politically untenable. The most vocal political communities and their academic allies demanded that the old racial balances be restored. Overnight, the test of the new system became how quickly it could be made to mirror the old one.

Texas guaranteed university places to anyone graduating in the top 10 percent of her or his high school class. Florida tried race-conscious scholarships. UCLA Law School offered admission preferences to students electing to study Critical Race Theory. Cal-Berkeley threatened to abandon the SATs.

Minority enrollment rebounded dramatically, as would have happened at Michigan, too, despite the law school complaint that race-blind standards would cut minority enrollment from 14.5 to just 4.0 percent. But the **new schemes were far riskier to quality education than the old system of preferences, which at least identified the most qualified students of each race.**

Eventually foes of race preferences would have faced a Hobson's choice: Accept the new practices. Battle the new evasions in the courts, case by controversial case. Or turn the issue into a bruising national political battle—mobilizing majority support against the minorities.

Against those choices, even a bad Supreme Court decision is to be preferred.

—Robert Zelnick

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